



**MY IMPRESSIONS
OF THE FAR EAST**

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MY IMPRESSIONS OF THE FAR EAST

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Published by M. H. Moledina, 30 Main Street, Poona,
and printed by J. O. Wilson at the Oriental
Watchman Publishing House, Salisbury
Park, Poona.



The Author



TO
MINE ENEMY

I DEDICATE
THE FAULTS OF THIS BOOK

TO
MY FRIEND

I DEDICATE
WHAT VIRTUE IT MAY HAVE,
HOPING THUS TO GIVE PLEASURE
TO BOTH.

M. H. M.

FOREWORD

IT GIVES me great pleasure to write a few words by way of a foreword to Mr. M. H. Moledina's interesting volume on his recent travels in the Far East. He has given us at some length his impressions of that visit. Mr. Moledina is an enterprising young Muslim and likes to see things for himself. Here in India, he has for many years taken a keen interest in social and political work. He has served for many years on the Poona Municipality, and from all that I know of his work, he is rendering great service to the public generally and to his own community.

The reader, on opening a book of this kind written by a first-hand student of Japan, will turn its pages to discover how the author interprets the meaning of recent events in that country. He has given us an interesting account of Japan's activities in North China and Manchuria. He has discussed the bearing of these activities on Japanese policy in China in general and vis-a-vis Russia. On the vexed and momentous question of Russo-Japanese relations, the author thinks that Japan will think twice before provoking a war on Russia; but in common with other competent judges he



Sir Ibrahim Rahमतoola, G. B. E.,
K. C. S. I., C. I. E., J. P.



believes that war can only be avoided by far-seeing statesmanship on both sides. With this view I heartily agree.

In his eleven chapters, Mr. Moledina traverses well-known ground. He has given us many interesting details of the countries he visited and of Japanese life and customs. He shows himself a keen observer and a student of character. Mr. Moledina shows that he is capable of exercising a shrewd and impartial judgment, and his book will, I believe, take its place as a well-timed and illuminating contribution to the story of Japan and the Far East.

The great ferment in Japan, and indeed throughout the Far East, is nothing more than a gigantic struggle for markets. The author's chapters on the industrial expansion of Japan as a whole, and the evolution of the great city of Tokyo, deserve close study by industrialists and social workers in India and in all other lands.

This is a volume of first-class importance and I heartily recommend a careful perusal of it. It has been written in a free and easy style and the facts seem to have been carefully compiled.

IBRAHIM RAHIMTOOLA

PREFACE

IN THIS volume I have made some effort to indicate, to some extent, the amazing industrial expansion of Japan. It is worth noting that less than a century ago Commodore M.C. Perry of the United States Navy negotiated a treaty between his country and Japan, which opened up the latter to the influence of Western civilization and her ports to American and, later, to European trade. A striking historical commentary on that interesting episode is furnished by two recent news items. During the first half of this year (1936) Japan exported 1,391,000,000 square yards of cotton fabrics, compared with 926,000,000 exported by Great Britain in the same period. I have, very imperfectly, endeavoured to explain to my readers how this marvellous expansion has been made possible by Japan. The Japanese people are the most industrious in the world. In a word, it may be expressed by the word "efficiency." The word "inefficiency" does not appear in a Japanese dictionary. It is worth noting also that in the United States of America, the cotton goods industry has recently decided to send a commission to Japan to negotiate privately a voluntary marketing agreement between the textile interests of the two countries. It is believed that this is the first occasion on which a United States industry will deal directly in private with representatives of a foreign country with a view to alleviating competition. Coupled with a recent decision of the United States Government to raise, by 42 per cent, the duty on Japanese textiles, this shows clearly how keenly the United States textile industry is feeling and fearing Japanese competition. These measures are only part of the world-wide protective movement against the amazing sweep of "Made in Japan" products.

As a writer in the *Statesman* of Calcutta recently pointed out: "The progress of Japanese textiles in the world markets during recent years has been amazing. Osaka, rather than Manchester, has become the leading centre of the textile export trade. In three years, Japan has sold more cotton cloth abroad than any other country. Still

more spectacular has been the growth of the rayon industry. Japan's rayon output in 1927 was 10,500 000 pounds, ranking below that of Great Britain, the United States, Germany, France, and Italy. By 1935, Japan was running the United States a close second, producing 224,000,000 pounds. The explanation of Japan's rise to what threatens to be economic leadership is principally cheap working conditions and co operation. Japanese textile workers have no trade unions; the factories are run on paternal lines. Japan combines an Eastern standard of living with a Western standard of industrial efficiency, and successfully adapts the traditional Japanese family spirit to big industrial plants. The factory in Japan is one large family, working for the good of the enterprise. Wages are low, but so long as Japan's population continues to increase faster than new jobs or opportunities for migration are opened up, the wage level must be low. The textile mills can count on an inexhaustible reserve of girl workers who can be recruited from peasant homes where their earnings are a valuable aid to the family budget."

The *Statesman* is perfectly correct. Here in India, conditions are entirely different. First, the country is cursed with trade unions. There is complete disorganization in the ranks of labour, thanks to communistic activities. The textile mills of India, it is true, can rely upon an "inexhaustible supply of labour," but nowhere in India do we find an effort to combine an "Eastern standard of living with a Western standard of industrial efficiency." Nowhere in India is there an effort to "adapt the traditional patriarchal family spirit to big industrial plants." The result is that India will never be able to compete with Japan in world markets.

The *Statesman* further points out, very properly, that "ever since 1929 there has been a downward trend in wages in the Japanese textile industry, and a growth in efficiency in output per operative." Here in India, what we see is a rise in the trend of wages in the Indian textile industry, and appalling deterioration in efficiency in output per operative.

In Japan, strikes and lockouts are unknown, whereas in India it is almost a daily occurrence. In Japan, more work can be done with fewer labourers. For instance, in 1929, it took 56.2 male workers to operate 10,000 spindles; in 1935,

only 22.5 operatives were needed. Altogether, the daily wage expenditures per 10,000 spindles were reduced more than 50 per cent. The lower scale of payments, moreover, applies equally to managers' salaries and operatives' wages. Furthermore, in industrial and engineering efficiency Japan is far ahead of any other Asiatic country and the organization of its textile industry compares most favourably with that of Great Britain or the United States. In a Japanese textile mill machinery some twenty years old is of British or American manufacture, but practically all the newer machines are made in Japan. Particularly has Japan excelled in making looms producing the coarser and cheaper grades of cloth which find such favour in Indian and other Asiatic markets.

It is unfortunate that the extraordinary industrial advance of Japan textiles has been continuously slowed up, and seems likely to turn into a precipitate retreat as a result of a barrage of quota restrictions, discriminating tariffs, and other measures designed to check the inflow of cheap Japanese goods. The United States and Australia, as I have pointed out in one of the chapters in this volume, have taken strong steps recently. It will be recalled that in May 1936, President Roosevelt increased the tariff on Japanese cotton cloth by 42 per cent. About the same time, Australia sharply increased the rate of duty on non-British goods. Japanese exporters of rayon and cotton goods described these duties as prohibitive, and the Japanese Government very properly has instituted a regime of severe control of purchases from Australia, aiming at the complete elimination of Australian wool. Egypt also, in July 1935, imposed a duty of 40 per cent on Japanese goods; the Dutch East Indies has been issuing restrictive acts at intervals; and the Union of South Africa has imposed such tariff measures that Japanese imports have declined very considerably. Altogether, more than sixty markets have imposed special restrictions on Japanese goods: fewer than thirty remain open on equal terms. It is significant that while Japanese textile exports to countries where no special restrictions exist, increased by 17.2 per cent in 1935 over 1934, the gain in countries with high tariffs and exchange control systems was only 2.4 per cent. In those with quota systems, the increase was only 0.1 per cent. The indications are that without neglecting the immense

possibilities of Manchukuo and North China, Japan will endeavour to defend its world trade by concluding semi-barter commercial agreements, and by inflicting reprisals. An agreement with Germany in this direction has already been published in the press.

I acknowledge with my grateful thanks the very kind permission granted to me by the Editor of the *London Times*, to insert in chapter VIII at some length the views of that great paper's correspondent on recent events in Shanghai.

I have to express my thanks to my numerous friends in Japan who have so kindly assisted me in compiling material for this volume. Very especially must I mention Prof. Teijiro Uyeda; Mr. T. Matsumoto, President of Tokyo-India Exporters' Association; Mr. Noboru Okano, Director of the Tokyo Institute for Municipal Research; Mr. Renzo Suzuki, Director of the Industrial Department, Osaka; and others, for their invaluable assistance as well as for their unbounded hospitality during my stay in their delightful country. To my many friends in Shanghai, especially Mr. Faiz G. Ebrahim, and Mr. T. Y. Chang, I must also express my grateful thanks for particulars about that city.

I thank also my esteemed friends in India, and very especially Mr. Fazal I. Rahimtoola (for nearly five years a distinguished member of the Indian Tariff Board), for his valuable advice, and for reading through the manuscript.

In issuing this volume to the public I am painfully conscious of its many shortcomings. But I hope that in many respects it will be found interesting, and to some extent informative.

Poona, October 1936.

M. H. MOLEDINA



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JAPAN: A FEW IMPRESSIONS

CHAPTER I

JAPAN : A FEW IMPRESSIONS

AS MY readers are aware, Japan proper consists of five large islands and about four thousand small ones, stretching for two thousand miles in a long uneven line along the coast of Asia. Mountain ranges traverse the islands, and high peaks are found in all parts, Mount Fuji being the most famous and beautiful of all. The rivers of Japan are generally narrow and very rapid, being of little use for the purpose of navigation, but highly useful in generating water power. There are few plains in Japan, but those areas where they exist are extremely fertile and contribute much to the industry of the country. Japan is noted for its exceedingly beautiful scenery; the photographs supplied in these pages are indicative of the grandeur of the country. Almost every part of the country possesses the most

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exceptional natural charm and beauty, but perhaps finest of all is the Inland Sea, which is rightly called the "Paradise of the World."

CLIMATE

The climate of Japan is mild and exceedingly pleasant all the year round. This is due to the fact that the country lies in the temperate zone. The climate varies in different parts of the Empire owing to the long extension of the islands. The soil throughout almost the whole country is workable and unusually prolific, and along the banks of the rivers is extremely fertile and well adapted for the cultivation of rice. The general characteristic of the climate may be said to be heat and moisture through the short, bright summer, followed by long, cold, fine winters. There are three wet seasons: the first from the middle of April to the beginning of May; the second from the middle of June to the beginning of

July; and the third from September to early in October. The typhoon, or "Great Wind" as it is called, is a terrible visitor, especially in September, though few months escape an exhibition of its force. Nearly ten crores of rupees have been expended in one year for damage caused by the typhoon, including the destruction of ships, villages, roads, embankments, bridges, etc. The islands also suffer from frequent earthquakes accompanied by tidal waves which claim thousands of human victims. My readers will recall the terrible earthquake of 1923 in which over 150,000 people were killed in Tokyo and Yokohama, and the damage done was estimated to cost about five billion yen. This was followed on May 24th, 1925, by an earthquake at Kobe in which numbers of people were killed.

What impressed me greatly when I was in Japan, was the great and beautiful variety of vegetation; the colours of the foliage being in

my opinion unsurpassed in richness and range of shades. Many gardens in England, the United States of America, and other Western countries have gained in beauty by the brilliantly coloured shrubs brought from Japan. It is not generally known that oaks, laurels, conifers, walnuts, nuts, birch, chestnut, and others are brought from Japan for improving stocks in Western countries. All these, including camphor trees, and especially the weeping willow and maple, grow freely in Japan, while everywhere the bamboo is seen growing in beautiful clumps. Amongst the queens of Japan's flowering trees, the plum, I submit, must come first, so very graceful is its growth and in its profusion of beautiful blossoms, and so very wonderful in its richly coloured foliage. I found the cherry trees even more beloved by the Japanese, who I verily believe are among the world's greatest and most artistic gardeners. To realize and appreciate what precisely

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is meant by gardens, and what a gardener should be like, one must see gardens in Japan. I have seen nothing in all India that can compete with what I have seen in Japan in the way of gardens. The wealth of bloom on these exquisite fruit trees—the plum and the cherry—should be placed among the many delightful and attractive things to be seen and enjoyed in Japan. I would add that the peach also blooms with simply amazing profusion, but what is most strange is that all these three trees, the plum, the cherry and the peach, bear *only blossoms*; they bear no fruit worth mentioning. This is probably due to the peculiar mineral contents of the soil. The Japanese pyrus, or pear tree, and the malus, or apple tree, have become familiar to Western gardeners, and these should be much prized for their wonderful gay colouring, and cloud of blossoms. I noticed also that the magnolia blooms in great profusion and perfection, also

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the azalea, chrysanthemum, peonies, iris, hydrangea, camellia, gum cistus, etc., etc.

As a race, the Japanese love the art of gardening and at no time is the country devoid of blossoms of some kind. Their landscapes and water gardens are in truth creations of indescribable beauty, baffling description, and one needs the pen of a poet to do them justice; and the miniatures, or toy gardens, of which I saw a multitude, are all an astounding example of patient care and study. I found in fascinating, out-of-the-way places a perfect tree, such as a cedar, a hundred years old, yet dwarfed to attain only a few *inches* in height, though perfectly complete in its proportions. I found lilies growing wild in enormous variety, and the lotus lily during the summer covers the great lakes and rivers with its delicate blooms. Ferns are found everywhere in great quantities. I was informed by one great

authority in Tokyo that in Japan there are over 150 species of ferns alone. The chief fruits I found are the orange, grape, pear, apple, peach, raspberry, strawberry, and persimmon. I must say, however, that Japanese fruits are very often tasteless and inclined to be tough; for this I could get no satisfactory explanation. Vegetables of all kinds are very well cultivated, and many curious and palatable roots have been introduced from Japan to India and Europe during recent years.

FAUNA

I now come to Japanese fauna. There are several kinds of wild animals. The black bear, I was told, is found in Hondo; and the brown bear is an occasional visitor in Yezo. The ice bear is also found in some parts, carried down by the Arctic current. Badgers and foxes are numerous, and in Japan they

are credited with supernatural powers. Monkeys, as in India, I found to abound all over the islands. Curiously enough, while there are no rabbits in Japan, hares are plentiful. Wild boars and stags, also antelopes exist in the mountainous districts. Otter and sea otters are numerous and are much valued in Japan for their fur. Also, like India, I found the squirrel and rat are far too common. But, strangely enough, there are no mice in Japan. Wherever I went, I found bird life in great variety. Water fowl is very plentiful. Wild geese, ducks, teal, and herons, especially the silver heron (beloved of Japanese artists), are seen everywhere in large numbers; also the kite, falcon and sparrow hawk. Among the game birds, the commonest are the ptarmigan, snipe, plover, quail, woodcock, and pheasant. There are two varieties of pheasant—one known as the copper pheasant, being especially remarkable for its beautiful plumage.

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Eagles, I was told, have been found but recently in very small quantities. In Japan the crane is a very sacred bird, being honoured as an emblem of longevity. Among the smaller birds the *Uguisu* comes first. It is a species of nightingale gifted with a very beautiful song. The cuckoo, the lark, hoopoe, blue bird, starling, wren, kingfisher, and various finches, etc., are all inhabitants of the islands.

The director of one important natural history museum in Tokyo informs me that among the thirty odd species of reptiles in Japan, are a very few turtles (highly valued when caught), many tortoises, ten varieties of snakes (curiously enough only one variety being venomous); and lizards, toads, frogs, and newts are plentiful. I was shown a giant salamander which had attained a length of five feet. In common with most Orientals, fish forms a very large part of the food of the

Japanese. It is wonderfully plentiful, both in the sea and the rivers and lakes. Among the chief, I was informed, are the bream, perch, mullet, mackerel, haddock, and salmon. The gold carp and the goldfish, so prized for their beauty, are extremely numerous.

Japan is very rich in insect life. The gold and the jewel beetles and the many kinds of brilliant, beautiful butterflies of tropical beauty abound. There are seven kinds of silk moths, and from the cocoon of the moth, the famous *Caligula Japonica* fishing lines are manufactured. In the Japanese lakes live many kinds of fresh water crabs and myriads of shrimps which are largely used for food. Spiders abound everywhere in Japan, and attain gigantic proportions.

INDUSTRY

I come now to discuss briefly Japan's industries. In the other pages of this book an

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attempt is made to indicate the marvellous industrial progress of the country. It has made amazing strides. In Japan, labour is cheap and plentiful. It is amazingly efficient. Machinery has been largely introduced. The textile and allied industries rank first, then follow machine and tool factories, chemical works, food and drink factories, paper ware, leather ware, matting, strawplates, feather ware, and bamboo factories, and a host of others, far too numerous to mention in this brief sketch. The manufacture of matches has increased enormously and has become one of Japan's most important industries. Sugar refining in recent years, has grown rapidly but the more ancient industries such as matting, lacquer and porcelain, remain unchanged. The country produces enough coal for its own use, reaching in recent years to over 33,860,181 tons per annum. The production of iron is insufficient and is now supplemented by

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China and Korea. Gold is found and worked, but not in great quantities. Copper occurs in large quantities, and also silver from Japan's volcanic rocks. Seventy per cent of the area of Japan is covered with forest, from which a quantity of good timber is obtained. Large groves of bamboo furnish material for building, ornamental work, and tools, etc. Another similar industry furnished by the forests of Japan is the cultivation of mushrooms. These are dried and exported in large quantities to China, and India. Camphor is another valuable gift from the forests, though the industry is now chiefly in Formosa, where large camphor forests are found.

The fishing industry is of very great importance. The value of this industry to the empire varies annually, but roughly may be put at 227,292,000 yen for raw marine produce,

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and 183,204,000 yen for manufactured. The industry of salt refining is also of considerable importance.

AGRICULTURE

Turning to agriculture, over 40 per cent of the people of Japan are engaged in agriculture. It is Japan's most important industry, resembling India in that respect. Small holdings is the general rule, rarely exceeding eight acres. The soil of Japan is not particularly fertile, and hard work and hard living have made the rich rice fields what they are. Rice is of course the chief crop; it forms, like it does in India, the principal food of the people, and it is also the basis of the Japanese national drink—*sake*. It is a summer crop harvested in September. The fields are flooded while the grain is young and then drained. Other important crops are millet, small red beans, buckwheat, rape seed, potato, sweet potatoes, *engelen*.

tea, tobacco, indigo hemp, sugar cane, peppermint, etc., etc.

The paper mulberry is extensively grown, its fibrous tissue being the chief material used for Japanese paper. (Barley is grown with particular care as it provides the material for straw plaits, which is an important manufacture; Stock breeding is not very extensive at present, pasture land being scarce. The growing liking for beef among the people has diminished the indigenous cattle. But various foreign breeds are imported. Sheep and pigs are on the increase but the natives prefer beef. Goats are kept for their milk. The rearing of silk worms is a very important asset to the small farmer. Japanese silk has long been famous. The chief silk producing prefectures are Nagano, Gumma, Yamanashi, Fukushima, Aichi, and Saitamia. Thousands of families are engaged in its production and

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manufacture. About five hundred million yen worth of silk is produced every year. Lacquer and vegetable wax are also two important productions.

RAILWAYS

A few words must be put here about Japanese railways and communications. Railways have made rapid strides in recent years. The total area covered by the rails today in Japan exceeds 13,000 miles, while electrified railways are nearly 1000 miles, and the schemes for their extension are rapidly progressing.

Subways (tubes) of the most modern type are at present operating in Osaka and Tokyo; plans for their expansion are in progress also. Tokyo is encircled by elevated trains. There are three express trains which are known as the "Tsubame," meaning "Swallow," the "Sakura," meaning "Cherry," and the "Fuji" which connects

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Tokyo, Yokohama, Nagoya, Kyoto, Osaka and Kobe. These trains are very fast, particularly the "Tsubame," making an average of twenty-eight miles an hour. This train runs mainly between Kobe and Tokyo, and covers the distance of 250 miles in nine hours, frequently reaching a speed of 40 miles an hour. This train has an observation car attached to it for the benefit of first-class passengers, which gives a pleasant view of the countryside of Japan. The dining car attached to the train provides an excellent dinner of four or five courses, which costs not more than forty cents (five annas). The sleeping car of the "Tsubame" is exceedingly comfortable and provides, besides a decent berth, full bedding, sleepers, with an attendant to take charge of your clothes and to attend to you on rising. The first line between Yokohama and Tokyo was opened in 1872. After the war with Russia in 1904, the state nationalized the

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railways, and the growth and perfection of the system is still in evolution. The gross income from the railways in recent years is over 600 million yen per annum. It is rapidly increasing.

ROADS

Roads in Japan are divided into three classes: state roads, prefectural roads, and village roads. They are generally well kept, and the Government gives an annual grant for assisting in their upkeep and improvement. A few decades back there were no facilities for modern traffic in Japan but small trails convenient for bicycles, or *jinrikishas*; even the main trunk road between Tokyo and Kyoto was not big enough to afford heavy and modern traffic. In the year 1919 the Government passed an act called the "Highway Law," establishing regulations for the improvements of the roads; and since then the

development of roads began in Japan. In 1920 improvement of five thousand miles of national roads, 900 miles of prefectural roads, and about 200 miles of military roads was taken up. The great earthquake of 1923, however, gave an opportunity to the great city to set forth an example for the excellent construction of roads in Japan. Nearly 35 per cent of the roads in Japan today are of the finest type.

The first electric tramway was constructed in Kyoto in 1896. There are now several electric railways and tramways running in the larger cities. Bicycles are one of the chief means of transport in Japan. Japan has nearly 800 factories which specialize in bicycles; of these Tokyo and Osaka have 200 and 240 respectively, and others are in Nagoya, Sakai, Kobe, etc. Bicycles are commonly used for carrying light and heavy loads such



Cherry Dance



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as baggages, parcels, and for similar other purposes. The Japanese are wonderful experts in the management and manipulation of bi-cycles.

Drainage has improved rapidly, the usual Western methods of street scavenging being employed in all the towns and cities. Crematoria is encouraged with much success, and have been established in Tokyo and Osaka. Other like places are now being arranged all over the Empire.

DRESS AND CUSTOMS

I must insert a note also on the dress and customs of Japan. The costume of the country is picturesque and distinctive, though fast becoming Europeanized. The men wear a silk or cotton shirt with an under jacket in the winter, and a wadded outside gown (kimono), perhaps two, in the coldest weather. A narrow sash is worn round the waist, and for ceremonial purposes wide trousers and stiff

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coat are used. These clothes are usually made of silk, and are often in beautiful colours with very handsome embroideries. The head is usually bare, though occasionally a large straw hat is used; socks and sandals cover the feet, and wooden clogs are worn in wet weather. The women of Japan wear a silk shirt and a *kimono*, kept in place by a narrow belt over which is worn the big sash or *abi*. The materials are usually costly and beautifully embroidered, and are handed down from mother to daughter. Their hair is very carefully dressed and piled with combs and flowers. The children are gaily dressed in the same fashion as their parents. Unfortunately, Western clothes are now being worn more and more.

FOOD

The chief food of the country is rice, and this is served at all three meals, cooked in

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various ways with fish, eggs, vegetables, and many kinds of pickles. Very little meat is eaten, though beef is increasing in consumption. Soups made of fish, vegetables, or chestnuts are very popular. Sweet cakes and sugar plums are made in enormous quantities and of excellent quality. Chop sticks are used instead of knives and forks. Guests are served with small portions of food at a time, each person having a separate little table. The drink called "*sake*," made from fermented rice, is a favourite beverage; large quantities of tea are drunk, and the ceremonies attending tea-parties, etc., are both very ancient and interesting. The tea ceremony is believed to have been introduced into Japan from China about 805 A. D., and the drinking of tea appears to have started as a more or less religious institution among the Buddhist priests. About 1330 it was adopted by the Daimyos and wealthy nobles. At their famous tea-parties

each guest had to guess where the tea they drank had been produced. If they guessed right they were given one of the valuable presents which adorned the room where they were entertained. The gifts, often rare and beautiful, would afterwards be presented to the singing and dancing girls who entertained the tea-party. It became an exaggerated craze in the end, among the upper classes of Japan, and was carried to such extraordinary length that even large fortunes were dissipated. It is on record that one unfortunate man called Sen-no Rikyu (1594) during the time of the great Hideyoshi chose to modify the tea ceremonies, and become the hero of Japanese tea drinkers. He was, however, unable to resist receiving large sums of money or favours for his skill as a connoisseur, and the great Hideyoshi had the man put to death. The tea is made in many forms; in one the leaves are reduced to a powder and the liquid appears as

thick as soup. Another thinner mixture is known as *usu-cha*. The drinking of tea is even today always formal and ceremonious, and each action and gesture is arranged by a code of rules. The rooms are swept, the hands are washed, a bell is rung, while the guests walk from the house to the garden and back again, to sit before their separate tables and drink solemnly the tiny cups of tea.

The usual method of getting about the towns is in a *jinrikisha*, a little cart pulled by a man, the charges being very moderate. By nature the Japanese are exceedingly clean. Everyone—men, women, and children—bathes frequently, some several times a day. The natural hot springs all over the country give easy access to hot bathing. In the winter the hot baths help to keep the people warm, especially the children, who are popped into a hot bath sometimes five or six times a day. Every ordinary private house has its bath and

every town its public baths. In Tokyo there are 800 public baths.

THE GEISHA

The Geisha, or singing girls are a class well-known to the European, both in literature and drama. The girls are often most beautiful, generally charming, and able to talk, sing, and dance, and please the people whom they entertain. They are usually apprenticed in the seventh year and can rarely reach independence unless they marry, which they generally do. From two to four yen a month are paid to the State for the girls by their proprietors. Few Japanese social gatherings would be complete without these pleasant entertainers. The Geishas conduct high class Japanese restaurants, housed in beautifully decorated wooden houses. These places are distinguishable by a red lamp hanging before the doors of the place. Drinks and foods of all

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kinds are served at a very moderate charge and to further entertain the guests, the Geishas charm the gathering by real Japanese dance.

A word about the morals of these and other girls in this chapter will not be out of place. From what I have seen and experienced, personally, I can safely say that the morals in Japan are not as bad as they have been painted in various countries. In many respects morals are much higher than in most other countries. Prostitution is under strict Government control. "Houses of ill fame" are kept under very strict Government control and observation, and venereal and other diseases are practically unknown. Heavy penalties are imposed upon those who do not adhere to the rigid hygienic rules issued by the State.

I paid a visit to the Thakarazuka Theatre between Kobe and Osaka. This theatre, besides, being a place of entertainment, is also

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an institution arranging for the marriages of girls. The management employs no less than 1000 girls, all in their teens, and as soon as a girl is twenty or above, she is immediately married, for which offers pour into the institution from various quarters. Thus it is found that lawful marriages are encouraged in Japan.

The main part of the Japanese race is short of stature and very muscular. Many types are distinguishable, the most important being an element of the Malay, then follow the Manchu-Korean type, the Mongol, and lastly the Ainu. Thus although the whole race presents certain marked physical characteristics, the different types are still traceable. In the South the people are more refined in appearance and the women are frequently very beautiful. Further north the tendency to prominent cheek bones and flat noses becomes more obvious. The Japanese are

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straight-haired and usually darkish-yellow. As a race they are an exceedingly happy, light-hearted people with most charming manners. Japanese children occupy an important place in every family; they are considered the future soldiers of the nation, and receive due military and physical training almost daily. Japan has been aptly and most rightly called the "Paradise of Children."

The present condition of women, (and here one notices such an enormous contrast between Japan and India) is based upon the principle of equality of sexes. As a wife and mother, the Japanese woman enjoys a position of freedom and utmost respect. If single, she may, and often does, adopt children, and becomes "house head" of her legal family. The general character of the Japanese women is especially worthy of repetition here. They are unselfish to the last degree, modest, kind-hearted, and infinitely patient, obedient as

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daughters, faithful as wives, and display the utmost devotion as mothers. Both men and women in Japan are, by nature, frugal and industrious, and share a passionate love of their country.

In many respects, however, the position of women in Japan compared to that in other countries of the globe is rather backward. For example, they have no political status and hold no important post or position in offices. They are employed chiefly as servants when not married, and are expected to serve the husband and look after their children after marriage. Ladies are not given seats in preference to men in any public conveyances such as trams, or railway, or in a theatre. They are said to be born to serve the men and the proper place for them is considered to be the home.

I had occasion to visit several factories near Tokyo in company with my esteemed





The Author With Mr. T. Matsumoto, President of
Tokyo—India Exporters' Association

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friend, Mr. T. Mutsamato, President of the Tokyo-India Exporters' Association, who was kind enough to afford me this opportunity and to discuss with me at length the industrial aspect of the country and also the labour problems. I was amazed to see women working in the factories who are given board and lodging free. The following is a brief description of what I saw of the women labourers there :—

Residential quarters are especially built for the residence of these labourers ; each one of whom is given a small room quite comfortable and clean. A social room of a Japanese style is provided for their recreation, which provides besides the usual musical instruments, a radio, and a gramophone. A large dining room with a scrupulously clean kitchen is maintained for their benefit, which contains small tables to accommodate four. This hall is spacious enough to accommodate not less

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than 200 diners at a time. Precisely at 11:45 A.M. a bell is rung, when all the labourers fall in a line and proceed to a spacious bath-room for washing their hands and faces ; then they follow in a row to the dining hall, where parties of four are served with a bowl of rice, four small plates containing vegetables, a kettle of tea, and four cups. All this costs not more than five annas, which means that one labourer has his meal for one and a quarter annas at a time.

A small dispensary is attached to the quarters which, when a labourer is sick, provides amenities for medical treatment and serves as a hospital. The monthly wages over and above these amenities do not exceed one to two yen a month. I was informed that the labourer of Japan is so industrious and hard-working that working eight hours in Japan is equal to working twenty-four hours in

any other country. All this shows that labour is cheap in Japan and this enables Japan to compete with Western countries and even with countries like India with crushing effect. It is well-known that compared with the Japanese, the Indian labourer is twice, or even three times, as expensive. In India there does not exist the same incentive to work. The Indian labourer, when compared with the Japanese labourer, is slovenly, lazy, and wholly inefficient. No amount of tariff barriers will stamp out Japanese competition. The hall mark of Japan's trade bears the one all-embracing word—"efficiency."

RELIGION

I can only touch briefly on religion in Japan. There is absolute religious freedom in Japan. The original religion of the country is Shinto, "the divine way." It is a mixture of nature worship and ancestor

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worship. It regards human people as naturally virtuous, being descended from the gods, and assumes that an individual's conscience is his true guide. The dead are ghosts, inhabiting a world of darkness with the power of bringing sorrow or joy into the lives of the living. There are numerous gods and goddesses, with several beautiful and charming legends attached to them. The principal divinity is Amaterasu, goddess of the sun. Her shrine which is at Ise I have described in another chapter in this book. It is visited by crowds of pilgrims. The Japanese religion appears to give no definite idea of what kind of life continues after death, but the cult expects natural purity of life without promises of reward.

Buddhism reached Japan about 552 A.D. through Korea; and the two religions became so intermixed that it was difficult to distinguish them. Buddhism, however, gradually

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absorbed the greater part of Shinto, though divided into various sects. No other religion seems to have made any marked progress in Japan. Islam and Christianity have made very little impression on the country. I saw very few mosques and very few Japanese Mussulmans although there are numbers of Russian and Indian Mohammedans inhabiting the country. I had several occasions to visit mosques in Japan, particularly at Kobe. A mosque was recently remodelled which now claims to be one of the finest in Japan. The moulvis or the priests in these mosques are all Russians who have a very good knowledge of Islam and its teachings. There are, I was informed, about 2000 Christian preachers in the country and about 1500 Christian churches belonging to various Christian denominations. I noticed that the Japanese adopt whatever creed they follow to suit their requirements, provided it does not impinge with their sense

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of loyalty or patriotism. Loyalty and patriotism in Japan are considered far more important than religion.

ART

The architecture of the country has never attained the great or grand ; small things are made perfectly in Japan, but not so often very large things. Quaint grace and wonderful curves may be met, but no wonderfully proportioned and impressive building greets the stranger; no domes or minarets, or massive structures, but lightly built houses and temples of wood and thatch, or sometimes tiled roofs. Except in the great cities, walls are scarce, the sides and divisions of houses being of opaque paper screens, replaced in winter by wooden doors that slide into their places. Even the great temples are composed of wood and matting, the wood carving being wonderfully beautiful. The view of a town from a height appears

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extraordinarily flat and uniform, only an occasional pagoda rearing its beautiful head among the trees. The Japanese architecture excels in beautiful detail. In rebuilding the cities that were destroyed by earthquakes Japan is following, to a considerable extent, the Western form of architecture. The few concrete buildings that have been in existence in Japan for sometime have withstood shocks fairly well.

Japanese art is essentially realistic; most impressionist studies from nature are perfect and alive; a bird in flight, a view, flowers, a mountain, may be all that one picture contains, but the delicate art of expressing the flight of the bird, the natural beauty of the flower with its manifold shadings, or the soft distance of the mountain and the shadow it will cast on a tuft of rank grass or a clump of bamboo, will be completely beautiful. The first attempt

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at painting may have been inspired by Chinese art, but certainly the art had existed in Japan for twelve centuries. Till recently, the European was accustomed to regard the whole art of Japan as purely decorative; we are so familiar with the screens, fans, china, etc., with their beautiful colours and curious designs, that actual paintings, and sculptures have only comparatively recently been brought to the Western man's notice. The Japanese themselves knew little of their own historic masterpieces which were hidden in the Buddhist temples, or in private hands. Since 1897, when national treasures became protected, and reproductions were published, the real art of the nation has become better known. The nude has never appeared to the Japanese as the most perfect creation, the draped figure always appearing more beautiful. The growth of painting should be divided into six periods.

(1) From the sixth to the ninth century, mainly influenced by the Chinese; (2) from the ninth to the fifteenth century, when schools of painting were established and the Chinese influence began to fade; (3) from the fifteenth to seventeenth century, when the revival of the Chinese art took place; (4) from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century, when a more popular school became established; (5) from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, when European art influenced the schools; (6) when the present progressive schools began. The oldest painting of whose existence we know is a mural decoration in the hall of the temple of Horyuji, near Nara, attributed to a Korean priest named Doncho, about the sixth century. It clearly shows the colouring and construction of a late example of Buddhist art. The first famous native artist of whom we know was a noble named Kose-no-Kanaoka, at the court of the Emperor Seiwa, about

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850 A.D. Very few of his works have survived, and those that have are chiefly conventional in design, but most perfect in their blending of colours.

His descendants who continued to the close of the thirteenth century were famous artists and founded the native school of Wa-gwa-ryu. The followers of this particular branch of painting delighted in quaint animals and insects such as grasshoppers, frogs, butterflies, hobgoblins, etc. which they represented with extraordinary vitality. I shall not weary my readers by a detailed reference to the steady improvement and growth of Japanese art throughout the centuries. I shall here only refer to the great development of art that began with the great Hishikawa Moronobu who flourished in the seventeenth century and died in 1713. His pictures are filled with delicate work. He it was who gave Japan



The Sacred Bridge, Nicko

her first beautiful wood engravings which are seen all over the country, and also illustrated books with realistic and beautiful pictures. Famous also was Hokusai Nakajina Tets-cujiro, who died in 1849. His thirty-six views of Mount Fuji are of remarkable beauty. From this time until the end of the century art in Japan flourished. Some magnificent Japanese paintings are in the British Museum. During the World War, the Japanese did all they could to promote national interest in their art, and since that time have taken care to keep all paintings by their old masters inside their country. Sculptures and carving metal and wood have been a highly developed art in Japan for twelve centuries. Many of the temples are stone houses of fine examples, going as far back as the sixth century. Sacred images were not the only subjects for the glyptic art, bells, vases, candlesticks, lanterns, arms and armour,—all were subjects for the

artist's skill. Stone, as in India and other countries, was curiously enough never used to any extent in Japan, but bronze, ivory, and wood have been employed from the earliest time. In another chapter of this book I have described the most perfect ancient bronze image, namely that of Daibutsu in the temple at Nara. I would mention here that Nara, which I visited during my tour, possessed a school of sculpture in wood as early as the eleventh century. I also saw at Kyoto the marvellous work of Hidara Jingora (died 1634). These works are seen at the gateway of the temple at Kyoto.

I greatly admired the decorations of the Mausoleum of Iyeyasu at Nikko. There I saw a wonderful collection of elaborate metal-work of sword hilts, from the time when every noble and Samurai carried a sword. For over 400 years this was a wonderful work

of art. Some of these hilts with their guards are indeed objects of great beauty. The work was both skilful in design and in choice of metals. The sword being practically the most precious possession of the Samurai, its decorations and designs became a matter of serious thought ; whole families became sword sculptors, and many of these were handed down as family heirlooms. The art of inlaying with gold and silver became highly developed at a very early time, and beautiful effects have been accomplished. A great deal of their bronze work is very fine ; one particular kind impressed me greatly during my tour in Japan, namely one which colours to a golden yellow ; this was remarkable to a degree. The Japanese have excelled in this particular branch of metal work. They mastered the art of casting bronze at an early date. The common domestic vases which one sees in all Japanese houses, and the alcove ornaments and incense

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burners are of exceeding beauty of design and workmanship. The great bronze Buddha at Nara referred to in another page of this volume, and the huge Amida at Kama-Kura are a proof of their early skill in casting large objects.

Another branch of art grew quickly with the use of tobacco, and this was the carving of *netsuke*, or buttons employed to suspend the tobacco pouch from the girdle; also the bowl of the pipe and the pouch clasps. All these became the completely beautiful furniture of a man's smoking outfit, just as the guard and the hilt of the sword had been the chief possession of the Samurai. The little *netsuke* are made of wood or ivory, and are often very quaint and charming, and always of beautiful workmanship. Closely on the heels of the *netsuke* came the *okimono*—little ornaments, wonderful copies of crayfish,

dragons, eagles, birds, and the like. Some were of large size, but many of the most perfect are tiny little productions to delight an artist or a child. Wood carving has from ancient times been one of Japan's greatest arts. The temples bear the records of centuries of exquisite work, but seldom the name of the artists. The smaller wooden figures of Buddha, familiar to the European, gilded and carved with such palid faces, in folded drapery, with lotus petals carved for their canopy, are graceful examples of the work of the Japanese wood carver. The interior of the temples and castles of Japan are adorned with the most elaborate lacquer work. Enamelling is another development of the modern Japanese. Today, vases, bowls, etc., etc., can be obtained in the finest *cloisonne* enamel work. Lastly, I would point out that Japanese art must always appear different from the art of other countries. In one sense it is impressionistic

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by reason of its choice of subjects and want of detailed background. Yet in another sense the perfect painting of every petal, feather, or feature makes their productions anything but impressionistic. Their whole art, just as the real natural character of the Japanese, stands out for perfection in one main object and disregard of all superfluities. That is the impression I received from a careful observation of Japanese art during my tour in the country. I will conclude this chapter by a brief sketch of the early history of Japan, which may be of use and interest to my readers, before proceeding to the other part of my book.

EARLY HISTORY

The racial origin of the Japanese people is still a matter of dispute by authorities. The ancient chronicles of the country tell us that the god Ninigi descended on an eastern peak of

the mountain Kerishima Yama, on the island Kyusha, as the forerunner of their first Emperor, named Jimmu, about 660 B. C. Before this date the Japanese have no written history. The Ainu ("the hairy Ainus" of travellers and explorers) came from Siberia, and appear to have been the inhabitants of Japan when the present people migrated from the adjacent continent, though which part they came from is not proved. The Ainu or Ainus appear to have found a primitive aboriginal tribe who dwelt in pits and who had been cannibals. The Ainu drove these people North and established themselves on the main part of the islands. Their descendents are still to be found; and they worship the bear and have curious customs and ceremonies attached to the veneration of the bear family, one among others being a great festival held in the autumn. The main feature of this is the slaughter of a bear that has been brought up

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in the village and kept in a cage. The animal is first made savage by want of food before the festival, and at a given signal is liberated and dispatched by hunters. The carcass is then cut up and a great feast is held. The reason or origin of this custom is unknown. The hair of the "hairy Ainus," is very abundant, often growing very thickly on the body as well as the head and chin. They were formerly a fierce race, but centuries of oppression have reduced them to a quiet and submissive people. The Japanese generally despise them, and refer to them as "earth spiders" and "barbarians." They are certainly a dirty, drunken, and lazy race, with no desire to progress. There are not many left now in Japan.

Of the coming of the Japanese and the fierce fights for supremacy, very little is known, and little has been written. The real

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known history begins with Emperor Jimmu Jenno. The date ascribed by Japanese historians, to his ascension is 660 B. c. But it was probably earlier. From him all the Emperors of Japan are descended. In 200 A.D. a warrior Emperor called Jingo invaded Korea, crossing from Japan with a large fleet and successfully subduing a part of Korea. About 500 A. D. the inhabitants became properly one nation—a mixture of Ainu, Mongol and Malay, ruled by one Emperor. Down to 670 A.D. the records are so vague and wrapped with legends, that it is impossible to say accurately what occurred. About 670 A.D. the whole family of Fujiwara became prominent. They governed as agents of the Emperor, spending his revenues and oppressing the people. It became customary for the Empress to be chosen from their daughters. Thus the early *training of the royal children* became part of the privileges of this powerful house which,

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in fact though not in name, ruled the Empire. They gave Japan many scholars and statesmen, but being without soldiers and money, except for the Imperial revenues, they were gradually ousted by the warrior families of Taira, and Minamoto. These two families were at constant war with each other.

The Taira were finally exterminated by the Minamoto, about 1100 A. D. For some years after this, Yoritomo, the Chief of Minamoto, ruled the Empire under the title of Sei-e-tai Shogun. He proved himself a strong and able governor. His establishment of military feudalism, though placing the civilian in a subordinate position, procured a short period of peace in the country. The Emperor was merely a sacred personage during this time, and accordingly was worshipped and flattered and given all he could desire, but without power. Yoritomo died in 1198, and the family of Hojo became most powerful.

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The famous Emperor of China, Kublai Khan, demanded that the Japanese should recognize his suzerainty (1280). On their refusal, a large fleet was sent which was destroyed off the west of Kiushiu in 1281, leaving Japan free. The Hojo family became enfeebled by their luxury and indolence. The constable (which was the title of the head of the Hojo house) had thirty-seven mistresses and 2000 dancers. The people grew restless under this extravagance and an organized revolt succeeded in driving out the family and restoring power to the Emperor Go-Diogo in 1334. Unfortunately, the Emperor was an incompetent person, and being obliged to abdicate, he fled to the South, chased by the soldiers of Ashikaga Takauji. Much trouble and petty warfare ensued, and another branch of the imperial family supplied a sovereign. The Ashikaga family held the Shogunate till 1565. The country was in a wretched

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condition and impoverished by the internal struggles. When Emperor Go-Isuchi died there was no money to bury him, and it was forty days before enough could be collected.

The great fortified monasteries of the Buddhist monks were a source of terrible misery to their surrounding neighbours, whom they plundered at will. The depth of the country's wretchedness can be realized when we know that China *allowed* the title of King, not Emperor, of Japan to continue upon an annual payment of a thousand ounces of gold. From 1565 to 1600 A.D., only the strongest warriors could hold any real power, and thus it came about that a low-born groom became the first man in the Empire. This man, named Hydeyoshi, was noted for his ugliness, his quick wit, and his courage. He is one of the national heroes of Japan, and artist and author have given him undying fame. One other

man, a common soldier, became powerful at the same time ; he was Iyeyasu, a rising young member of the Tokugawa family. These two men came to an agreement, and between them overcame the remaining great warrior families. On the death of Hydeyoshi, Iyeyasu fought for the supremacy, and finally gained it in the great battle of Sekigahara. Afterwards he claimed the title of Shogun, and thus founded the line of Tokugawa Shoguns, who ruled till 1868. Kyoto had formerly been the capital, but Iyeyasu substituted Yedo. The Military families (known as Samurai) were now subject to the closest inspection ; their estates and incomes were assessed by the Shogun's officials. The Daimyo, or feudal chief, generally held a castle occupying a commanding position. At this period, the right of wearing a sword was the highest privilege. Wealth was of little consideration, honour, courage, loyalty, and filial piety ranking first

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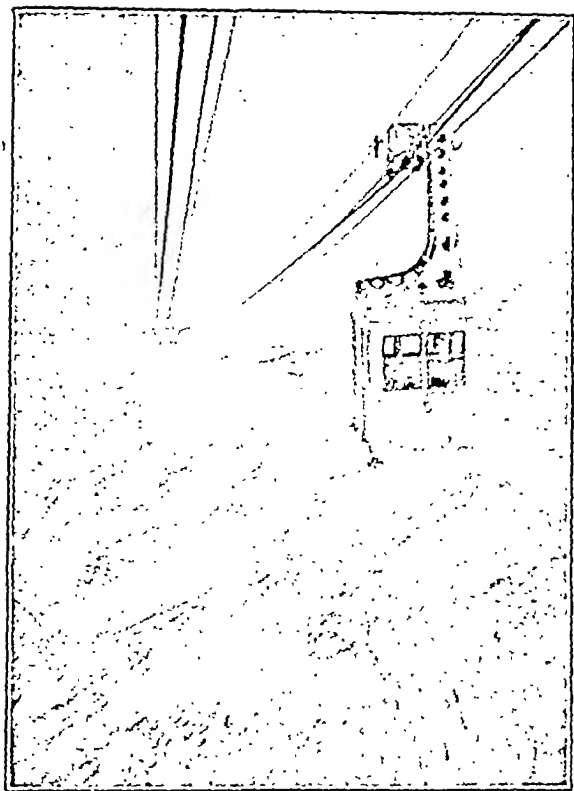
in the war of ethics followed by the Samurai. They were a strong, hard, unforgiving, yet brave and courteous race of men. The relations of the Daimyo to the Samurai corresponded to those of the mediæval European baron, knight, and squire. Iyeyasu established a military rule of the Empire, and under its strength and protection Japan found peace for two and a half centuries. He stands among the greatest of Japan's statesmen, and his system of government assisted enormously to increase the wealth of the country. One of the regulations he enforced was that the Daimyos should reside at Yedo at stated intervals leaving their families as hostages during their absence. About this time foreigners began to be welcomed in Japan. This intercourse definitely began in the sixteenth century. Commercial interest had commenced, to some extent with Portugal in 1542. A Portuguese vessel was blown from her course

and by sheer accident landed on an island south of Satsuma. They sold the Japanese some arquebuses, and receiving orders for more, seven expeditions were carried out during the next few years. The Church of Rome now conceived the idea that Japan would be a great field for missionary operations, and accordingly Jesuits were entrusted with the work. Francis Xavier sailed for Japan; and being well received, he commenced preaching his doctrine. The Japanese, always tolerant and broad-minded made no objection to the introduction of a new creed, which also brought them *trade* in increasing quantity and wealth from other countries. The Japanese have always an eye for trade in dealing with foreigners. The Jesuits made good progress with their converts, but their zeal and energy led at last to their being denounced as agitators. Some Franciscans arrived and quarrelled with the Jesuits: and following

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this the Dutch commenced trading with Japan. They, being rigid Protestants, were naturally unfriendly with both Spanish and Portuguese. Thus the peaceable light-hearted natives were utterly amazed at the most unedifying spectacle of all the Europeans quarrelling violently among themselves, amongst a race they were pleased to describe as "heathen." The Japanese naturally became alarmed, the creeds of the foreigners appeared to them quite naturally as merciless and fanatical, and they feared that equally unpleasant kings would follow up these persons and invade their poor country.

Therefore the simplest method of curing this condition was applied. The Spaniards were expelled in 1624 and the Portuguese in 1638. The native "converts" who refused to give up their foreign creed were exterminated. The Dutch traders were not expelled but were



The Rope Car, Nikko

subjected to severe and humiliating restrictions. No general dealings with foreigners were allowed.

It is worth noting that the first Englishman to reach Japan was one William Adams who died in Japan in 1620. Adams was the pilot on a Dutch trading vessel, and stress of weather drove the ship "Charity" to the island of Kiushiu. He was summoned to Osaka and Iyeyasu, appreciating his knowledge of shipbuilding and ships, refused to allow him to return home. He was presented with an estate at Hemi near Yokosuka. He married a charming and beautiful Japanese wife and became known and beloved as Anjin Sama. His memory is still preserved by the name of a street in Yedo, and an annual festival on June 15. The country now thoroughly revelled in its peace and increasing prosperity.

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In 1853, the United States of America sent Commodore Perry, to whom I have referred in another chapter of this book, with four warships to open diplomatic relations. A Russian ship also arrived in the same year on the same errand. The Japanese now widely flung all their energies into feverish attempts to build forts, collect troops, and build ocean-going ships once more. They besought the Dutch traders to aid them with scientific works and explanations of modern warfare. The result was that they suddenly and fully realized their absolute inefficiency; and with a truly national sense, decided to agree with Commodore Perry's demands of American trade and safety for ship-wrecked sailors. Perry showed them a model telegraph and a model railway, which delighted and amazed the Japanese. We have the astounding fact of a nation wondering at a modern railway in 1853—the very year when the first railway

was constructed in India from Bombay to Kalyan. Yet the Japanese made such astounding progress that by 1905 they had defeated a great European power with its own modern weapons, which is a measure of progress in Japan as compared with India, or any other power in the East in the same period. No other nation can boast of so great, wonderful, and complete an adaptation of modern methods. The coming of Perry and the subsequent awakening of Japan led to the downfall of the Shogunate.

A treaty at last was signed by the Shogun with Perry, and further treaties with Russia, England, and the Netherlands. Europe having barely recovered from her own troubles of 1848, subjected Japan to unfair and disgraceful pressure. In signing the treaty the Shogun knew that he signed his own downfall. The Daimyos rose against him, and "expel the

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foreigner" became the popular cry throughout Japan. A British subject named Richardson was murdered and terrible vengeance was taken. The city of Kagoshima was bombarded and utterly destroyed.

From the year 1865 Japan began to take her rightful place among the progressive nations of the world. The Emperor became the head in fact and not in theory. In 1871 an imperial decree abolished local autonomy. The feudal system was to be a thing of the past. In 1876 the pensions of the Samurai were commuted and swords were forbidden to be worn. In submitting to this without a murmur and sinking all personal interest before the welfare of the nation, they showed a heroic loyalty. There was a revolt of the Satsuma clan. This clan intended to restore the Samurai and secure the governing power for Satsuma. The struggle was bitter and terrible. Over

35,000 men were killed or disabled at the finish. The Samurai were completely defeated and the country realized its own strength in the government forces who were mainly of the non-military clan. This ended further trouble with the Samurai. Many of them, loyal to their creed of honour, retired to the mountains and died by their own hands, suicide under the name of *Harakiri*, being an honourable death. This custom had always been followed by the Samurai in cases of hopeless trouble or from the wish to follow a dead superior. The wives of the feudal nobles and Samurai also occasionally despatched themselves when honour or loyalty demanded it of them. The men usually cut open the abdomen, and the women their throats. The courage to take one's life in an honourable cause has always ranked high in the esteem of the Japanese.

The country now set itself the difficult task of thoroughly learning and practising the

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institutions of Europe and America. Some fifty-five men, by no means all noble, commenced the stupendous work of reconstruction. Many were murdered, some were executed, and not a few broke down from over-work. Among the illustrious names honoured for ever more by Japan is Prince Ito, who framed the first constitution for his country. He was a statesman, probably one of the greatest the world has ever produced. He was a man full of energy, courage and state craft, who served his country splendidly, and in the end died by the hand of a mad assassin in Korea. I must mention also Saigo Takamori, Ita-gaki, and Okudo Kido. The next period is known as the Meiji era. Englishmen were employed in the construction of railways, telegraphs, etc. The organization of the navy was undertaken by British officers. Americans arranged her system of postal service, also the agricultural arrangements, and her education, while

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Germans assisted with medical science and local government; and Frenchmen trained her soldiers in modern tactics and recast her laws. The new system of education began at once and it grew and prospered in an astounding manner.

In 1889 the Emperor Mutsuhito gave Japan her present constitution under which she has flourished down to the present time.

This brief sketch has brought the history of Japan down to the beginning of the present century. The history of events of the latter part of the last century and beginning of the present century, is too well known to be discussed here.

I cannot conclude this chapter without paying acknowledgements to my various Japanese friends of high education for the details given in this chapter.



MY DAYS AT KOBE

CHAPTER II

MY DAYS AT KOBE

KOBE is a large and important town in Japan situated on the island of Honshiu on the Bay of Osaka.

In 1868 it was opened to foreign trade, and the city of Hyogo was opened at the same time, the former becoming a foreign residential quarter. Since 1892 the two towns have formed one. Kobe possesses an excellent harbour, and has in recent years vastly superseded other Japanese ports in trade and in the number of ships visiting the port. It has also an imperial shipbuilding yard. The chief industries are match making and camphor distilling. Besides shipyards there are numerous flour mills, sugar refineries, and a number of other industrial interests. The town is conveniently situated as a starting-

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point for popular excursions to places of historic interest in Japan. Practically all the steamers of the European, Australian, trans-Pacific, coastwise and near-sea lines call at this port.

To the north of the city one sees an undulating range of mountains and hills, and a wide sea-frontage on the south. The view of the hills is unsurpassed in its grandeur, and greatly resembles the view of Bombay from Malabar Hill. The city has a dry, most pleasant climate, and none of the intense humidity which we experience in Bombay and other Indian maritime cities. It has a very pure air, and its interesting, clean streets are rich in colourful scenes. There are fine drives and excursions—all of which combine to make Kobe a most popular tourist point. The shopping centre of Kobe is a most interesting area. Indeed I found Kobe offering a

forceful allurements and attractions to travellers. The principal stores are situated in the famous Motomachi Street. In this area the chief merchandise dealt in comprises silk, silk goods, brocades, curios of infinite varieties, fine arts, pearls, ivory ware, porcelain, tortoise-shell ware, damascene, and various kinds of natural products. I immensely enjoyed visiting numerous places of interest near and around Kobe.

The first place of interest which I visited was the world famous Shinto shrine at Ikuta-jima. This Shinto shrine is dedicated to Wakahirume-no-mikoto. This is a goddess who first taught the use of the loom. The shrine is said to have been founded by the Great Empress Jingu on her triumphal return from the Korean expedition. After spending some hours at this interesting place, I proceeded to Nunobiki, famous for its picturesque

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waterfalls. The falls are known as "The Twins." They consist of two small rivers meeting together at one spot, and they are located in a thickly wooded hill. They are described as "Female" Fall (43 feet high) and "Male" Fall (82 feet high). This spot is a favourite retreat of Japan's citizens in these parts. Near Kobe is a lovely park called Suwayama Park: on a hill slope not far from the city, and it commands charming views of the city and harbour of the Inland Sea. It is a view that I shall never forget for its grandeur. It also commands a view of Awajishima Island and the mountains of Kii Province. The park is popularly called "Venus Hill" for here in 1874 a French astronomer, Commander J. Jaussen, made an important astronomical observation of the transit of Venus.

While at Kobe, I visited the training school for fencing, jujitsu, and archery.

Exercises in these are seen almost daily. It is known as the Butokuden Training School.

Another delightful spot and a favourite resort for the recreation of the city people is the Okura-Yama Recreation Ground. This occupies the whole of the Anyoji Hill, from which a wonderfully fine panoramic view of the western part of the city and the bay is obtained.

Then again a widely known place to foreigners visiting Kobe is the Minatogawa Park, also known as "Theatre Street." This forms a very popular amusement quarter, with most modern theatres, moving picture palaces, restaurants, cafes, and shops of various kinds. The Minatogawa Shrine I found to be a place well worth a visit. This shrine is dedicated to the renowned fourteenth century warrior, Kusumoki Masashige, who figures as an immortal hero in Japan's history, celebrated

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for his unswerving loyalty to the Imperial family. The edifices were built as late as 1872.

On the third day of my stay at Kobe, I had a most delightful motor trip to Suma, Maiko, and Akashi. These are seaside resorts. We drove along over a splendid asphalted road. All three places are charmingly situated along the Inland Sea, backed by a range of green hills, and all of them have fine sand beaches and ports embowered in aged pinetrees.

The Akashi Castle, north of the station, still retains its many storied, white painted donjon, which rises from the midst of tall pine trees. The Hirono Golf Links, which are greatly patronized, was reached in half an hour's drive by car from Akashi. Maiko is noted for its beautiful boulevard on the beach. It bears a remarkable resemblance to

the grand view from the Bombay Clock Tower to Malabar point.

One of the most delightful excursions that I ever experienced was a twelve-hours' visit to Mount Maya. The Mount is 2,290 feet above sea-level, and is one of the highest peaks of the Rokko range of mountains overlooking Kobe. It is noted for its temples dedicated to Maya Fujin, the mother of Buddha, which stands near the summit, half a mile from the terminus of the cable car (funicular) railway service. We had a splendid panoramic view of the country from this point.

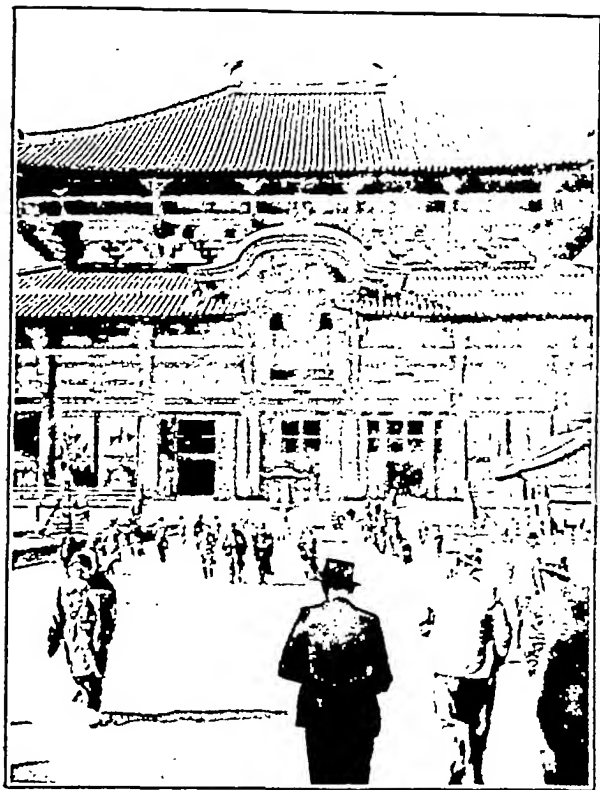
Arima is another of the beauty spots near Kobe. It is a well known spa and is reached in a couple of hours. We travelled through very striking scenery. This is a hot spring resort of great antiquity, and has a delightful location. Its waters are noted for their high medical efficacy for a long list of infirmities and obstinate diseases.

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Finally, I enjoyed immensely an excursion by car to Mount Rokko (3,062 feet above sea-level). At the summit is the so-called "Foreign Village," consisting of more than eighty summer villas extending for nearly four miles. At the north end of the village lie the golf links of eighteen holes, covering twenty-five acres. The splendid view which may be enjoyed from here surpasses even that of Mount Maya. Skating and skiing are favourite pastimes in winter.

NARA

I had a pleasant drive to Nara about fifty miles from Kobe. This place is particularly noted for its famous Daibutsu Temple which is the largest in Japan. The principal image of Lord Buddha is called Vairochana Buddha, which symbolizes Buddha's blessings, omnipotent and omnipresent. He is sitting on an open lotus blossom in an attitude of calm



The Todaiji Temple Nara



reflection—the largest image of its kind in Japan, perhaps one of the greatest in the world. Its body-height measures 53 feet, while the face length is of 16 feet, with a breadth of $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The size of the temple proper is 188 feet in width, 166 feet in depth, with a height of 160 feet, 7 inches. The pillars are 60 in number, with a diameter of 45 feet. The image was erected in 749 A.D. at the instance of the 45th. Emperor Shomu, and contains 437 tons of bronze, 288 pounds of gold, 7 tons of vegetable wax, 165 pounds of mercury, and several thousand tons of charcoal.

Two years were required to cast the image: the Emperor himself carried earth with his own hands to help in making the foundation, and after seven unsuccessful attempts, the image was at last completed. The temple was built in the following year to shelter it.

but was burnt down in the twelfth century during a civil war, leaving Daibutsu so seriously broken in the ashes that the head had to be replaced the following year under Imperial orders, which is much darker than the body. The erection of the temple began in 1190 and was finished in the succeeding year. In 1567, more than 370 years after the rebuilding, the temple was again destroyed by fire, and Daibutsu then stood without shelter for over a hundred years. The reconstruction of the temple was begun about 1699, and three years were taken for its completion. This third structure is the present one.

The temple is surrounded by various parks of extensive area where the visitors notice a number of live deers dedicated to the temple by devotees. These deers are fed by the public who visit the temple and the parks.

Attached to the compound of the temple is a huge gong hanging on four strong, iron

chains with a wooden log of considerable size hanging just in front of the gong. It is said that if the gong is struck with the log, and if the sound echoes clearly, the person striking the gong will visit Japan again—believe it or not!

BEPPU

Twenty hours journey by boat took me to Beppu from Kobe. The name Beppu is given to an extensive water district, facing the world famous Inland Sea of which the Japanese are proud and fond. It is universally acknowledged that the foremost scenic beauty of Japan is the Inland Sea, and the sunset here is a wonderful sight. There are in all eight spas each provided with abundant supply of natural hot waters, known for their curative quality. There are several boiling, pool solfataras. The entire place gives one an idea of Nature's creations.

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Four hours run by train and bus took me to Mount Aso (5,238 feet above sea-level). This is an active volcano, its crater measuring 17 miles north to south, 9.8 miles from east to west, with a circumference of over 75 miles, is the largest crater in the world. The Toshita and Tochinoki among other hot springs are more commodious. The crater is easily accessible, and provides an excellent view.

SUK-YA-KI FEAST

I cannot conclude this brief, and imperfect, and most inadequate account of impressions of my visit to Kobe and its environments, without a short note on one of my interesting experiences in one of Kobe's fashionable restaurants.

"Come and have *su-ki-yaki* with us!" said my friends at Kobe, after first greetings were over. I readily agreed with the sugges-

tion. The Japanese are the most hospitable and courteous of all races under the sun. We made our way through the picturesque crowd on the wharf.

"Whatever is Su-ki-yaki?" I enquired. "Oh, it is a real Japanese dinner. chop sticks included!!" was the reply. My friends took me to a high-class Japanese restaurant. Passing through the entrance hall, I saw a number of cobble-stone paths leading to separate rooms with quaint, thatched roofs. The paths were flanked by quaint, carved figures; one particular path had a fat bear standing on its legs. The bear had an expansive stomach, and a small face with a perky nose and the most fatuous smile imaginable. On the back of the head, was a huge straw hat, which greatly added to its jaunty appearance. Precisely what was the significance of this striking bear I was unable to find out, but its presence

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was as ubiquitous as that of "Father Christmas" during a cold, English December day.

At the entrance to our room, we removed our shoes, using, as is the custom in Japan, a huge stone toad as a foot rest as we untied them.

A sliding door led us into an octagonal room, decorated with a charm that only Japanese art can produce. Cushions were placed on the floor, around a circular table about eighteen inches high, massive, beautifully carved, and red lacquered. I would emphasize here that the correct attitude for dining in Japanese fashion is to kneel down and then sit on one's heels. This attitude is all very well for those who are accustomed to it; but it is necessary to begin long before the age when a tinge of rheumatism tends to stiffen the joints. Personally I was not much





Mt. Aso

troubled on this score as I am fairly agile. However, while waiting for the long-looked-for meal, we were all glad to recline gracefully on the cushions, making use of the padded arm-rests provided.

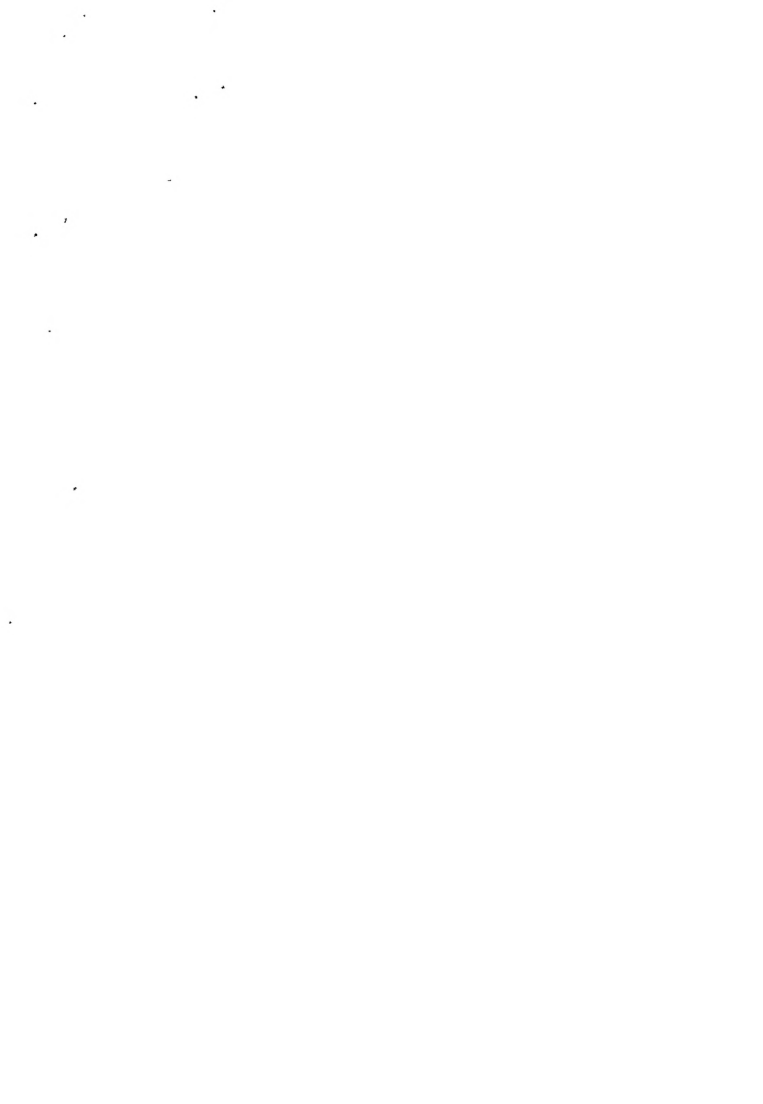
Presently a handsome little waitress, in a gay kimono, and with artistically piled up hair, brought n a tray of steaming towels, wrung out of boiling water and daintly scented. We found it very refreshing to sponge hands and face with these. Next came some "sea-weed-tea" in dainty little cups with no handles. This amazing concoction, if regarded as a medicine, would not be bad, but as a "refresher" or as beverage, it left, I must say, much to be desired.

These preliminaries over, a lighted gas ring, standing in a dish of water, was placed right in the centre of the table. On it was a brass dish in which a piece of fat soon began to

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frizzle. Leeks and numerous other vegetables, then strips of delicious meat, bean paste, vermicelli, what looked like chrysanthemum leaves; seasonings, and water, were in succession placed in the dish and savoury smells began to pervade the room. We began to feel hungry, our appetites were stimulated greatly. We were then each given three little bowls containing respectively rice, a raw egg, and some pickle; then a packet in which were a pair of chop-sticks, a tooth pick, and a paper bib.

The feast was now ready, and we were invited to begin. After some effort, I found that I could manipulate my chop-sticks with considerable dexterity. With a little practice I found, amidst peals of laughter, that the chop-sticks, held both in the right hand, could be used as a pair of tongs. With these I seized a piece of meat or vegetable from the



The Suk-ya-ki Feast



centre dish, dipped it in egg, which cooled it, and then conveyed it to my mouth. I found that the meat and vegetables were fairly easy to manipulate, but the vermicelli was rather obstreperous. Amidst more laughter, the necessity for the "bib" became evident. Then finding the other viands exceedingly palatable I asked my host, "What about the pickle,?" "That is something very special," said my hosts, helping themselves to a succulent morsel. Thus emboldened, I seized a rather large piece of what appeared to me to be a mango chutney. But to my horror, the taste of this pickle was most undesirable, saltish, bitter, and altogether unpleasant. Early training in food manners prevailed, and I said not a word. I simply gulped it down, though my real feeling almost prompted other action. I exclaimed that it was "simply delicious!!".

The meal was brought to a close by cups of green tea, served without sugar or milk.

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This I found fairly palatable, but I confess it is an acquired taste, at least, I think so. Our waitress, having finished her duties, seemed to take considerable interest in all of us. I was greatly impressed by her subtle charms. I told her that I much admired both her costume and her coiffure—especially her coiffure. Finally with many bows, smiles, and *ari-ga-tu* (thanks), we were escorted to the door, and were begged to “Come back again please!!” This I did!

In concluding this chapter I must give expression to my charming hosts, and to my numerous friends at Kobe, particularly Messrs. Mohins Heerji, Desraj, M. Y. Hasham, A. A. Currim, of my gratitude for innumerable acts of kindness and courtesy shown at all times. and for their boundless hospitality during my visit to one of the most charming cities in the Far East.

YOKOHAMA, MEYANOSHITA
AND HA-KO-NE

CHAPTER III

YOKOHAMA, MEYANOSHITA AND HA-KO-NE

Yokohama is one of the most important seaports of Japan, situated on Tokyo Bay in the Island of Honshu. It has a good and commodious harbour. In 1859 it took the place of Kunagawa, which was first appointed as the treaty port of the western side of Tokyo Bay. Since then the city has grown rapidly and has great trade. With Tokyo, it was largely destroyed in the great earthquake of 1923, but has been entirely reconstructed on an extensive and magnificent scale. The chief imports are cotton, silk, woollens, metals, sugar, and petroleum. The chief exports are silk, tea, copper, and coal. Its population is over 600,000. It is difficult to imagine that only seventy years ago, Yokohama was but a small fishing village with a few groups of thatched cottages. Within half a century

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it has grown up to be one of the most important treaty ports of the Island Empire.

The city may be divided into three parts. The eastern part is called Yamashitacho and it used to be the foreign settlement. Most of the consulates, foreign business firms, hotels, and clubs are situated in this quarter. At the south end of Yamashitacho there stretches from the east to west a range of low hills called "The Bluff." This is the residential quarter for foreign residents. All the rest is called the "Native Town," and occupies the greater part of the city. Lately, the Yokohama municipality has taken in two big adjoining towns. It is difficult to exaggerate the magnificence of the buildings in the shopping centre of this beautiful city. The principal shops are located along Bentendori, Honcho, and Matomachi streets near the pier and quays. In these shops there may be purchased many and varied fascinating native

products of Japan, such as silk, silk garments of every description, kimonos, embroideries, brocades, lacquer and bamboo ware, tortoise-shell and ivory articles, bronze ware, jade, furs, curios, porcelain, cloisonne, gold and silver ware, colour prints, and many other articles "made in Japan."

It was only possible for me to pay but a very short visit to Yokohama, but during my short visit there, I saw many places of historic interest. My friend, Mr. Narayandas, of Dhalamal² and Sons of Yokohama, proved to be an excellent host, and spared no pains to entertain me and to take me to places of interest. Among the business community here I was amazed to find not less than twenty-three Indian firms, almost all belonging to the Sindhi class who have had business connections with Japan for the last three or four decades.

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The Yokohama Commercial and Industrial Museum, situated on the main street just opposite the prefectural office, I found well worth a visit. It is a very fine, four-storied, imposing building, newly built, and in it I found displayed a remarkable array of samples of Japanese merchandise produced in this locality, as well as other prefectures.

The famous Fudo Temple stands on a hill commanding a general and most magnificent view of the town and harbour. The temple is dedicated to Fudo Myo-o, a Buddhist deva representing "the supreme enlightenment over all lower passions." Enormous festivals are held here on the 1st, 15th, and 28th of every month. On the western side of "The Bluff," I found the beautiful, peaceful, resting place of the dead of the early foreign settlers. It is the foreign cemetery, and is very well looked after. A few minutes walk from here, our party approached Komon-Yama Hill. On

this hill stands a bronze statue of Lord Iikamon-no-kami, the famous Premier of the late Tokugawa Government, who abandoned the long, persistent, state policy of isolation peculiar to ancient Japan. This great statesman abandoned the ancient policy, opening Yokohama, among other places, to foreign trading vessels, thus laying the foundation of modern industrial and financial greatness of the present great Island Empire. But he was pursued and persecuted, and ultimately assassinated by his relentless enemies and opponents of his policy. The present greatness of this city owes much to his farsighted policy. We obtained an excellent bird's-eye view of the surroundings from this magnificent spot. Words fail me to give an adequate description of the double cherry blossoms for which this place is world-famous.

I was most fortunate to be able to visit the indescribably beautiful Sankei-en Garden

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in the spring. This most unique plum garden and landscape garden belong to my very esteemed and courteous and hospitable friend, Mr. Hara, who very kindly showed us round the garden. This is also noted for its display of cherry blossoms.

From here we proceeded to Hasseiden, built near Sankei-en Garden by Mr. K. Adachi, former Home Minister to the Government. It is a sexangular sanctuary, which houses the statues of the eight great sages of the world namely, Gautama, Confucius, Socrates, Christ, Prince Shotoku, Saint Kobo, Saint Shinran, and Saint Nichiren. In the middle of these eight statues we found, suitably placed, a very large mirror symbolizing the universe.

One of the most sacred shrines in Japan is the Daijingu Shrine which crowns Isey-ama Hill, near Negeyama Hill. This is a branch

of the Grand Shrines of Ise, and we found this a most impressive sight. On the last day of my visit to Yokohama, we made a delightful excursion along the perfectly tranquil bay, called the "Mississippi Bay"—the south suburban coast of the city. We went through the villages of Hommdku and Negishi, the whole neighbourhood of which abounds in charming landscapes. Vast multitudes visit these places in the summer. The bay affords excellent sea bathing in the warm summer months.

Kanazawa we found to be a delightful spot situated ten miles south-west of Yokohama, on the shores of the Mutsu-ra Inlet. It is chiefly noted for its Hakkei, or "Eight Views"—characteristic Japanese views from a height just outside the villages. We found that the whole neighbourhood affords delightful walks. Paths leading to the summit of every hill

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command exquisite views of the whole country around for many miles. From here we proceeded to Kamakura. This is a shrine erected in the year 1869 and dedicated to Prince Morinaga, who was taken prisoner by the Ashikaga Shogunate, and had been confined in a cave in the rear of the present shrine, until the great man was cruelly murdered in the year 1335 by a gang of assassins at the early age of twenty-eight. Nearby is another famous shrine, the Hachiman shrine dedicated to the Emperor Ojin (A. D. 270-310), popularly called the "God of War"; his mother, Empress Jingu Kogo and an ancient deity. The shrine was originally founded in the year 1069 on another site, and was removed to the present location in 1191. The existing buildings, our guide instructed us, date from 1828.

DAIBUTSU

From here we went to see "Daibutsu," or Great Buddha. This is forty-eight feet and

six inches high, and ninety-seven feet in circumference at the base. It is the second longest image in Japan. The image was originally enclosed in a large building which was damaged by a severe storm in 1369, and was finally washed away by a tidal wave in 1494 ; since which time the figure has remained in the open.

After seeing all the sites in Kamakura, briefly described above, we proceeded to Enoshima. This is a beautifully wooded island, about twelve miles in circumference, with cliffs and inlets. The principal point on the island is the "Dragon Cave" which is said to have been the abode of a dragon, and in which is now enshrined an image of Benten, the "Goddess of Luck." The narrow road which leads to the cave is flanked by attractive shops selling all kinds of souvenirs made of mother-of-pearl, sea-shells, etc. It was a

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very fine day when we visited Enoshima and we had a splendid view of Mount Fuji in the west.

Another place of great historic importance, which was visited by my party, was Uraga. This is the very place where the "Black Ships" of the United States entered in 1853 on a mission to "demand the opening of Japan to foreign intercourse." We were greatly interested and impressed to see the monument in commemoration of Commodore Perry at Kurihima, about one mile south-west of Uraga.

We made a delightful trip by car from Misaki (the central point of the strip, situated at the south end of the Miura Peninsula) to Zushi via Hayama. The route is famous for the picturesqueness of land and seascapes, with Mount Fuji towering above the mountain ranges across the beautiful bay. From Zushi

YOKOHAMA, MIYANOSHITA AND HA-KO-NE

we travelled by Shoran Electric Car back to Hinodecho and returned by car to our hotel.

There is a regular service between Yokohama and Miyanoshita. My friend, Mr. Narayandas, extended to me and my party an invitation to visit this beautiful hill sport. We left Yokohama early in the morning and after a most delightful drive through Kamakura and over the famous Tokaido Highway, we arrived Miyanoshita at twelve noon.

The place (pronounced Mee-ya-no-she-ta,) is situated on a terrace, at an altitude of 1,377 ft., above the Haya River. It is nearly surrounded by mountains, and has for many years been a popular resort for both foreign residents and tourists because of its location. From the excellent Fujiya Hotel where we stayed, numerous short walking trips can be

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made. We visited the beautiful Sengenyama Hill which is at the back of the hotel garden. A walk of three fourths of a mile takes us to the summit where we obtained another grand view of Mount Fuji and of Sagami Bay. Among other interesting places visited I must mention Kowakidani Hill (altitude 2,100 ft.), which is two miles along the road leading to Lake Hakone to which I shall refer later. Kowakidani is also called Ko-jigoku ("Little Hell") because of the fumes emitted from a cave in the vicinity. During spring when we visited the place we had the advantage of seeing a wonderful sight of cherry blossoms for which the place is reputed.

Hakone, pronounced *Ha-ko-nay*, is the name given to the extensive mountainous region between Mount Fuji and the Jzu Peninsula. The name is familiar to all Japanese because of its numerous hot springs

and the truly unique beauty of its scenery, and it will ever be memorable to me as having enjoyed a short stay in this glorious district. The countless and varied out-door delights, the abundant hot springs, and the charm of nature prodigally lavished on this charming district, combine to make Hakone, I would say, the best of all-year-round resorts.

In the Hakone district hot springs occur around the central cones, mostly on the eastern foot, along the valley of the Haya-kawa. These spas with natural hot springs are well patronized throughout the Province. Vast multitudes visit the place at all times of the year.

I must mention in concluding this chapter a delightful visit to Lake Hakone situated about eight miles from Miyanoshita. We drove along the main road which is a gradual ascent of about five miles to Ashinoyu, which

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is noted for its sulphur springs. After passing Odawara and Ashinoyu we noted a large number of stone monuments and images of great historical interest. The lake itself, or "Ashin-no-ko" as it is called, means "the Lake of Reeds." It is a gourd-shaped body of water three and one-half miles long and ten miles in circumference. It occupies a space lying between the crater wall and the central cones. The lake is noted for its famous *Sakasa Fuji* ("Inverted Fuji or Double Fuji") which we were fortunate, being a very clear day, to see in this liquid mirror. I was able to take a snap-shot of the mirror-like Lake Hakone. Hakone Hotel, situated just at the foot of the lake, commands a beautiful view of Mount Fuji and the surrounding hills. Moto-Hakone is a beautiful small hamlet on the lake shore, and was once an important place as a barrier town. Hakone Shrine, reached by a short walk, is exceedingly beautiful in its seclusion





Sulphur Springs

on the densely wooded hillside. We drove along for three fourths of a mile over a winding road, over-shadowed by stately cryptomerias, leading passed the old barrier gate or "Seki-sho," and arrived at Hakone-Machi. This is also a pleasant hill village situated at the head of the lake, from where we again got a splendid view of Mount Fuji. It was not possible to make an ascent of this famous Mount. This is only practicable in the summer months. Mount Fuji, known to all the world for its ethereal beauty and majestic splendour, rises to a height of 12,395 feet. We drove in a car kindly lent by my Japanese host, to the foot of the great mountain via Gotemba, thence on horse back, and afoot.

It took a whole day to complete this trip to the mountain, and it afforded an experience which I shall never forget. We returned to our hotel late in the evening after enjoying

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ourselves immensely. I left this delightful district with memories which shall be with me for ever green. I hope to visit this place again and arrange to leave Miyanoshita towards evening in the summer months, climb all night long and enjoy the glorious sunrise from the summit.

NAGOYA AND ITS ENVIRONS

CHAPTER IV

NAGOYA AND ITS ENVIRONS

THERE are few more interesting cities in Japan than Nagoya. It is very conveniently and most picturesquely located on the so-called "tourist channel" of Japan. It has a population of 1,083,000, and has a very wide range of attractions—scenic, industrial, and historical. As regards industrial and commercial activities, no other city in central Japan can possibly challenge Nagoya. Besides enjoying ample transportation facilities, both on land and sea, it is blessed with a mild climate and numerous advantages favourable to the development of various lines of commerce and industry.

The city's total output of commodities last year exceeded 500,000,000 yen in value. and if joined with those of its adjacent cities and

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towns will actually amount to a thousand million yen. On visiting these parts I was impressed again by the stupendous industrial energy of the Japanese people.

The staple products of Nagoya are cotton and textile fabrics and porcelains, all of which find their way abroad in enormous quantities. Everywhere I visited thrived with industry and every citizen seemed bent on industrial success, and one could see all around a marvellous concentration of mental energy directed to the surmounting of every obstacle to progress. In 1934, the foreign trade of Nagoya amounted to 220,000,000 yen. Nagoya being so important from the industrial point of view, I was advised to break my journey and visit this most important place, in order to inspect its industrial activities, especially in the manufacturing of porcelain and cloisonne.

NAGOYA AND ITS ENVIRONS

My friend, Mr. Katow, of Shinizu Tile Shoten, who is proprietor of a porcelain and tiles factory, took me round to the various departments of his factory. From what I saw of the labourers there, I may say that the Japanese are a gentle and hard-working people. My friend, Mr. Haji Hasham Esmail of Bombay, who accompanied me, and who was on a business trip to the Island Empire, ordered a particular design of tiles to be made which represented the ancient Hindu deity, the image of Lord Krishna, and also of Mahatma Gandhi. I was all the more surprised when the order was booked and a sample prepared in no less than two days. From this I gathered that besides being ingenious, the Japanese people are really a wonderful nation in matters industrial.

Nagoya is situated midway between Osaka and Tokyo, and makes a suitable stopover

station on the Tokaido main line. Besides this, the city is all-important as a starting point of two other railway lines of distinction, namely, the Chuo (Nagoya to Tokyo via Kofu passing through the mountainous region in central Japan), and the Kansai (Nagoya to Osaka via Nara). In addition to these government lines, the city is admirably provided with excellent suburban and inter-urban electric services, which render the traveller considerable facility in his excursions to places of note in the vicinity. I might mention that the last and most important in point of speed is the air service with which the city is provided. Japan Air Transport Company's aeroplanes, running between Tokyo and Darien, stop at the air port in the city every day on both up and down services. The by-weekly service between Tokyo and Osaka makes its stoppage at this city where luncheon is served to the passengers.

NAGOYA AND ITS ENVIRONS

Nagoya, historically speaking, is a castle town and is naturally rich in spots reminiscent of old times when feudalism was in flower. Since the year 1610 when the present donjon part of the once magnificent Nagoya Castle was built, until the Meiji Restoration of 1868, Owari Province, the centre of which is Nagoya, had for its feudal lords members of one of Tokugawa's three families, who resided at the castle.

Nagoya perhaps more than promises in a few years to become a tourist centre of great significance. Already various plans have been formed for the extension on a great scale of travel facilities and some of them are already being carried out. First, I would mention, a new Nagoya station, to be constructed on the most modern lines; there is under construction a six-story ferro-concrete edifice equipped with all modern accommodation

—and this will be completed by the beginning of 1937. It will replace the present one. Secondly, the immense extension work of Nagoya Harbour is also in progress. When completed the port of Nagoya will be spacious enough to accommodate simultaneously sixty-six vessels, each of nearly 20,000 tons, either alongside the wharves or on the berths. Lastly, mention must be made of the projected Kanko Hotel which is to be built on an extensive scale, and is expected to be completed by the end of the year 1936. It will be the most ambitious in this direction ever undertaken in the Far East.

Of the principal seasonal attractions in and around Nagoya I would mention, in particular, the festival held in February of each year. This is held on the "first horse day" of the month by the lunar calendar. This festival is called the *Inari Shrine* festival and is held

NAGOYA AND ITS ENVIRONS

at Tokyokava. Inari Shrine is reached in about two hours by train from Nagoya. In April there is the Sanno festival of Hie Shrine at Takayama, and the annual festival at the Taksuki Shrine in Okazaki Park, Okazaki. There I saw ten gorgeous floats lavishly ornamented with gold and artistic carvings, also a classical procession of 550 paraders in ancient costumes—a truly wonderful sight.

From the month of May to October there is the most interesting sight on the Nagara River, namely, cormorant fishing. This is a spectacular mode of catching *ayu*, a kind of trout, which has been conducted annually for many centuries. I would especially mention here the commodious and very beautifully situated Nagaragawa Hotel where I stayed. This hotel building is very attractively designed and most modern. In the public rooms and private apartments I found a very

high standard of furnishing and decoration, and altogether it offers a very comfortable and a most home-like atmosphere. Most of the rooms, I would also add, face to the crystal clear river. All are equipped with telephones, hot and cold running water, private baths, steam heat, etc. I would very expressly refer to the "*Abokyu*" annex of the hotel. It is one of the most beautiful buildings in Oriental style. It is truly well worth a visit, especially because of its architecture which I would call unique.

As I have said, the hotel is situated on the banks of the Nagara River noted for its cormorant fishing: the surroundings are most beautiful, and quiet, and one obtains a fine view of the pellucid stream flowing between ever-green mountains, which comforts and lulls the visitors. Besides the cormorant fishing, which has made the Nagara River famous, I

would mention other arresting and interesting sights, in and around Gifu, namely, the Nagara River boat trip, driving to the famous Inuyama Castle, and the "Rhine of Japan," and lastly, a visit to the world famous Insect Museum of Professor Nawa.

Here I must insert a short note on cormorant fishing to which I have referred above. The origin of fishing with cormorant in Japan is obscure, yet fishing of this sort in the Nagara River can be traced, through record and tradition, as far back as the tenth century. Wild cormorants are snared by putting bird lime upon rocks which stand off shore, attaching one bird amid as a decoy. As my readers probably know, the cormorant is a web-footed bird with a bright, shiny head, and neck with bluish, black feathers, sprinkled with white. The general colour above is a greenish black, the throat white, and the bill and the feet are dark grey. It is found in all parts of

the world in coastal regions. The birds are specially numerous around Japan's coasts. This bird is notorious for its voracious appetite. It collects the food in a kind of pouch formed by the dilatable skin at the front of the throat. Cormorants feed entirely on fish which they catch by swimming and diving under water sometimes to a considerable depth. Hence they are of special value for this Japanese pastime, as I will now explain. The Japanese catch the birds in the manner I have already described, and the birds are then set free once a day, their beaks tied with straw rope not to strike the captor's hands. They are allowed to swim by the boat, or to stand on the gunwale. A few days later the birds, secured with cords, are exercised in a shallow river with some of the already trained, older birds. Thus they become in a short time, perfectly qualified to pursue their profession independently.

Each fishing boat carries a crew consisting of a master fisherman, assistant, and two boatmen. A iron cresset, or pitch-pine torch, is suspended at each bow.

The boats are rowed down the river in single file, and the pleasure boats follow close to them, watching their skilful tact. The master fisherman is distinguished by his mediæval costume. He hunts twelve cormorants at the bow, while the assistant hunts four amidship. Each bird is secured by a long cord, one end being held in the fisherman's left hand. As soon as the master fisherman considers that a sufficient number of fish are gathered under the cresset, he frees the cord and allows the cormorants to take to the water, and this they do at once, pursuing their prey under water with the most marvellous dexterity.

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When the cormorant has swallowed a sufficient number of fish, the fisherman hauls it in and forces it to disgorge them by pressing its neck and throat. As soon as the bird is freed, it cheerfully goes after another catch. Forcing the cormorant to disgorge may seem cruel, but in reality it is nothing of the sort. The birds seem to like it and are not discommoded in the slightest, and accept it as a matter of course. The positions of the cormorants in the boat are fixed by their age and ability. To fix position is the task of the hunt-master, who is conversant with the relative skill of the various birds. When fishing is over, they take up their allotted position on the gunwale, and look, for all the world, as triumphant warriors. If there happens an error in the order of precedence, quarrelling begins at once, and the birds are not appeased until they are put back to their proper position.

It proved to me to be the most delightfully interesting pastime I have ever experienced. The most satisfactory way to see cormorant fishing is to start any evening from May 11th to October 15th, except the full-moon nights and when there is high or muddy water. As it starts between six and ten o'clock, guests should be on the boat by 6 P. M. It is interesting even to watch the six or twelve cormorant boats hunting down the river from the garden of the hotel; but as I have explained, the best way to enjoy the pastime is to hire a pleasure boat and follow the cormorant boats and observe them working at hand.

When I was at Nagoya, I found the authorities extremely busy with the preliminary arrangements for holding the "Nagoya Pan-Pacific Exhibition" which will be held in the city for a period of seventy-eight days, from March 15th, 1937.

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The purpose of the exhibition is to stimulate the development of the industries and culture of countries concerned, and to promote permanent peace and order among them. The site will cover an area of 150,000 tsubo, or a little more than 132 acres, at a seaside district near the Nagoya harbour. It is Japan's first International Exhibition to show industrial and cultural products, foreign and Japanese. The total expenditure is estimated to amount to approximately three million yen.

Exhibits to be placed on show will include a wide assortment of articles pertaining to industry, transportation, education, fine and industrial arts, science, civil engineering, architecture, social work, sanitation, hygiene, etc., etc. These will be gathered from all parts of Japan and its outlying territories, from countries surrounding the Pacific, and

from all other states and countries in close contact with the city of Nagoya. The exhibition will be held under the auspices of the city of Nagoya, and be supported by the Aichi Prefecture and the Nagoya Chamber of Commerce and Industry. It will also be assisted by the Government, prefectures, cities, and by various communities both in Japan and abroad. It is worth mentioning here that a total of twenty-two halls will be built to house the exhibits. In addition, several entertainment halls and stalls will also be established. It is confidently expected that the coming exhibition will be of particular significance to all countries bordering on the Pacific, as well to the city of Nagoya itself.

I visited Nagoya Castle located at the northwestern part of the city. It is well known as the finest example of Japanese

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feudal castles. It was constructed in 1610 by order of the illustrious Iyeyasu, the founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate, as a fortified residence for his son, Yoshinao, whose descendants continued to reside here for nearly 300 years, until the Meiji Restoration of 1868. Within the castle grounds, covering an area of about thirty acres, there remain a massive five-storied donjon, surmounted by a pair of gold dolphins, and the residential quarter of the castle, profusely decorated with paintings by skilful old masters. This group of structures, which had long been an imperial detached palace, was granted to the city in 1930, and the donjon is now open to the public.

I visited the Atsuta Shrine, founded sometime in the second century. It is a highly venerated Shinto shrine, patterned after the Great Ise shrine, standing amid the

century-old cryptomerias; it enshrines the sacred sword, "Kusanagi-no-Tsurugi," one of the Three Sacred Treasures of the Imperial Family of Japan.

Nagoya is also justly famous for its famous parks. The Tsurumai Park is to my mind the finest park in the city, if not in the Far East, covering an area of about sixty acres. It is beautifully laid out in the best Japanese and Western styles, and contains an athletic field, a children's play-ground, a zoo, a large public hall, a library, an art museum, an open-air stage, a band stand, etc. It is equal to any of the parks for which even London is justly famous. At the southeast corner on an elevation stands Buntenkaku, a refined building of the Momoyama style.

On my last day at Nagoya, I visited the birth-place of Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598), the Napoleon of Japan, which is now

part of Nakamura Park. In the park there are a bronze statue, in memory of the hero, and a stone-fenced old well, from which, according to a legend, water was drawn up for bathing Hideyoshi at the time of his birth. Such ablution is a custom observed by all Japanese families.

One of the most thrilling experiences I have ever experienced was "shooting down the rapids of the Japan Rhine." I was taken on board a pleasure boat at Dota, which is one of the most popular embarkation points along the river, and a continuous series of wonderful and picturesque sights rapidly unfold themselves before one's eyes, the river banks assuming fantastic features, craggy hills towering precipitously skyward, overhanging precipices threatening to crumble down on one, and to this swift races and foaming rapids adding the excitement of

speedy movement. Nevertheless one meets with no danger, thanks to the marvellous skill of the trained boat-men.

Yoro Fall is a delightful spot which I also visited. It is associated with a legend featuring a filial boy, and is one of the pleasantest excursion objectives in the neighbourhood of Nagoya. The waterfall, 105 feet high and 12 feet wide, hangs in a scenic recess in Yoro Park, and its scenic beauty is much enhanced by an encircling wood which assumes different colours according to the season. In the park near-by there are also a Buddhist temple and a Shinto shrine, either of which bears the same name, "Yoro." In the precincts of the Yoro Shrine there gushes out a mineral water, known as "Kikusui," with which legend is associated that a filial boy named Genshonai once took home a gourdful of water from the spring and offered it to his father, and lo! the

water turned into "*sake*" which had the effect of invigorating the constitution of the withered patient.

Before drawing this chapter to a close, I must refer to the Great Ise shrines in the city of Uji-Yamda, about three hours drive from Nagoya. These are more revered than any other shrine in Japan. The Naigu (Inner Shrine) is dedicated to the ancestral goddess of the Imperial Family, and the Great Gegu (outer Shrine) dedicated to the god of farm crops. I noticed that all these shrines are built of the finest wood of the Japanese cypress, and the structures are replaced every twenty years by new ones built similar in every detail to those that were first raised at Ise. The architecture of the shrines are of pure Shinto style, simple but dignified, and no paint or decoration of any kind is ever used except on the ends of the beams which are capped with

gilded metal strips and bands for the purpose of adding strength and durability to the structures.

The Gegu Shrine is situated at the foot of Mount Tokakura, while the Naigu Shrine nestles in a well-wooded park, some 164 acres with a clear water running through the sacred enclosure. These shrines are of the highest rank in Japan and attract multitudes of pilgrims annually. In conclusion I must just refer to Kamagori which I visited last of all. It has come to be remarkably popular in recent years. Facing scenic Atsumi Bay, sprinkled with several islets, the place makes an ideal bathing resort in summer, and at the same time it is a desirable halting place for all motorists along the Tokaido Highway (Tokyo-Kyoto). This concludes my ever memorable visit to Nagoya and its charming environs.



TOKYO AND GREATER TOKYO

1911

CHAPTER V

TOKYO AND GREATER TOKYO

THE city of Tokyo is the second largest city in the world, with a population of five millions. A little over a thousand years ago it was a wilderness in a remote corner of Eastern Japan, far from the centre of ancient Japanese culture and civilization then flourishing in Kyoto and Nara. Tokyo in ancient times was called Yedo.

It was during the Muromachi era that Dokan Ota, a feudal warrior, built his castle at Yedo, some four hundred and sixty-five years ago. During his thirty years of enlightened administration, Yedo gradually expanded from a fishing hamlet to a feudal stronghold and then to a castle town. After Dokan's death Yedo for a century remained an unprosperous town until the advent of Iyeyasu Tokugawa, the first of the Tokugawa

Shoguns. He selected Yedo as his capital, when he became the Lord of Kwanto Districts, and laid out streets, reclaimed the marshy land for building lots, invited merchants from other cities to settle in Yedo. After rebuilding the castle, he made Yedo the seat of the Government of the Tokugawa Shogunate.

Thereafter Yedo remained the Shogun's capital for some three centuries, unchallenged by any other city in the country.

The Imperial Restoration in 1868, however, changed the life of Great Yedo almost completely. The Tokugawa Government fell and many of the people of the city fled as they were threatened with social uneasiness and confusion. The Great Emperor Meiji removed the capital from Kyoto to Yedo, changing its name to Tokyo, and proclaimed Yedo Castle as the Imperial Palace. That great day was

the regeneration of Tokyo. As the Imperial Government steadily forced its policy, the strength of Tokyo gradually was restored, and the city quickly renewed its special features as the metropolis of Japan. Tokyo became the capital of new Japan, serving as the entrance of Western civilization, a good deal of attention being given to the construction of the city.

The sixty years of Tokyo culture, which was built up strenuously since the Imperial Restoration, met with a terrible catastrophe on September 1st, 1923, when earthquake and fire, unprecedented in history, inflicted upon the city an almost fatal blow. Nearly one half of the entire city was completely reduced to ashes, and the once busy and prosperous Tokyo was devastated in a single day. The whole financial organization, traffic facilities, and means of communication, etc., were all paralysed and came to a stop. Approximately

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3,70,000 houses were burnt, and the number of the casualties was returned at 75,000, and the total loss of wealth caused by the catastrophe was estimated at not less than 3,700,000,000 yens, in Tokyo alone. Uneasiness and confusion filled the city, and the prospects of Tokyo seemed very gloomy for a time.

Notwithstanding the disaster, the citizens and all concerned, encouraged by sincere world-wide sympathy, devoted all their energies to the gigantic task of reconstruction; and after more than seven years' hard effort with a total expenditure equal to many crores of rupees, the construction of Tokyo came to its final completion, and a prosperous modern metropolis has arisen out of the ashes. The population which had decreased, owing to the flight of refugees from the burning capital at the time of the catastrophe, has steadily increased again.

With the completion of the capital and reconstruction work, Tokyo has become a modern metropolis. The numerous broad and well-paved streets and thoroughfares of the capital, adequately provided with every form of rapid transit, the magnificent official and general office and business buildings have made Tokyo one of the finest capitals in the world. Such a development of Tokyo is endorsed by the fact that the suburbs likewise made a great development, and showed that no further municipal undertakings could see satisfactory completion if relations with the suburbs were overlooked. During the period of ten years since 1920, the total population of the suburbs increased by 1,730,000 against an increase of only 100,000 in the city proper during this period.

The total area of Modern Tokyo is 5,750,000 kilometres, or say 217 square miles, of which

about one-seventh on the south-eastern side is called the "Old City" limits (or city proper), and is more densely populated than the newly included parts of the city.

The suburbs, though kept apart from the municipal administration, have been treated practically as integral parts of the city by several laws and regulations, and the need of actually including these districts in the city area was long left. For instance, under the City Planning Law, 84 towns and villages in the suburbs were designated as coming under the city planning area of Tokyo. Under the City Building Law, Tokyo Prefectural Government named 68 towns and villages around as coming under this law. Other laws and regulations treating these suburbs practically as parts of the capital include the Land Lease Law, The House Lease Law, the Central Wholesale Market Law, the Industrial Associa-

tion Law, the Postal Special Delivery Regulations, and the Telephone Regulations.

Besides, there were more than 800,000 people who were daily invading the capital from its suburbs to earn their livelihood, and who had the same interest in the municipal administration as the citizens living within the city area. These people mostly belonged to the middle classes, or intelligentsia, and by their participation in the Municipal Government both the city and these people themselves will be given of what they had hitherto failed to take advantage. Thus for many years, the districts round Tokyo had become real parts of the city in all essentials of life; in communications, health administration, commerce, and industry, with the exception of political administration. Their separate and independent political existence had proved a source of much inconvenience to themselves

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as well as to the city of Tokyo. Under such circumstances the Tokyo Municipal Council decided to incorporate them into the city, and thus at last a long cherished dream was realized.

Commencing from October 1st, 1932, which was the thirty-fourth anniversary of the establishment of local self-government in Tokyo, the capital of the Japanese Empire has become the second largest city in the world in point of its population, which is roughly placed at sixty lakhs. This expansion was brought about through the amalgamation of its neighbouring 82 towns and villages in five out-lying counties. Twenty new wards have been created out of the newly added districts, making a total of 35 wards; and the area of the city increased from 85 square kilometres to 550 square kilometres. Taking Tokyo station as the centre, the city has a ten-mile radius.

As I have already stated, the Japanese people considered the appalling destruction wrought by the earthquake as a preparation for construction—reconstruction on modern lines so as to be more worthy of the modern city of a great empire. It is a most thriving emporium of all industries and commercial activities. It is the centre of national administration, education, and finance. It epitomizes “New Japan” with its numerous fine office buildings and great architectural beauty, wide and clean high-ways, parks, ample transit facilities, and all other modern conveniences. On the other hand, Tokyo also represents “Old Japan” for Western architecture; ways and ideas have not produced radical changes in the life and customs of the vast majority of the people. The city abounds in many interesting points and affords visitors a variety of attractions.

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I was greatly honoured during my stay in this great city by being the guest of numerous friends, Mr. T. Mutsumato, President of the Tokyo-India Exporters' Association, the Mayor of Tokyo, Mr. Noboru Okana, the Director of the Tokyo Institute for Municipal Research, Professor Teijiro Uyeda of the Tokyo University, Mr. K. Mori of the Taisho Yoko Co.

I would first of all refer briefly to the many places that I visited. The grounds of the Imperial Palace in Tokyo occupy an extensive area in the centre of the Capital, and are greatly enriched by moats with overhanging ancient pine trees, the monarch of Japanese garden trees. The Palace is not open to the general public, but visitors are permitted to proceed to the main entrance, the Nijubashi, or Double Bridge.

Hibiya Park is close to the Palace grounds and in front of the Imperial Hotel. It is laid

out in Western style, covering 45 acres, with a grand band-stand newly constructed. I was here much impressed again by an enormous flower show which was then in progress on the day of my visit. These flower shows baffle description; they are to be seen to be appreciated properly. There is nothing like these shows to be seen anywhere either in the East or in the West; all are wonderfully well arranged. These flower shows and other undertakings are held quite frequently in Tokyo.

I visited Shiba Park and the Tomb of the Shoguns. The Park lies one mile South of Hibiya Park and contains many attractions, such as the Mausoleum of the Tokugawa Shoguns, the Zojoji Temple, the Maple Club (a famous restaurant), a swimming pool, and so on. The temples and tombs of the Shoguns present very good specimens of old Japanese arts and always attract vast crowds

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of foreign visitors. Some of them are said to be superior to those of Nikko. There are two sections, North and South. The South section contains the temple and tomb of the second Tokugawa Shogun. From Atogo Hill near the park, I got a wonderful bird's-eye-view of Tokyo city and the Bay. Here is located the Tokyo Radio Broadcasting Station, which I found equipped with very latest improvements in broadcasting. Radio figures very prominently in the life of the Japanese. The taste of the radio fans is so divergent that the ingenuity of the program makers is taxed heavily. The principal item of broadcast is music—native and foreign; western music is now becoming very popular. Radios are also used for the broadcast of speeches by the Mayor and other officials.

In the northern part of the city close by Ueno Station is situated the picturesque Ueno

Park. This most beautiful park is noted for its cherry blossoms. These were in full bloom when I paid my visit, and it was a sight which, for its grandeur, I can never forget. The park contains the Imperial Museum, the Tokyo Science Museum, the Zoological Gardens, the Art Gallery, and the Imperial Library. The Great Library is alone worth visiting, containing about 2,500,000 volumes comprising literature from all lands.

I visited the famous Asakusa Park, which is only a few minutes ride by subway from Ueno Park. It is known as the "Coney Island," or Earl's Court of Tokyo. The Park is dedicated to the Goddess of Mercy, and is visited daily by thousands of visitors. The narrow lane leading to the temple is lined with quaint Japanese shops selling all sorts of souvenirs.

Near Harajuku station on the belt line of the electric trains is the Meiji Shrine. This

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is dedicated to the Great Emperor Meiji, who brought the country to the level of a first-class power. The group of buildings is most impressive and is of pure Shinto style, which is characterized by simplicity and modesty. Behind the shrine stands the Homotsukan, or Treasury, which contains many articles and furniture used by the Great Emperor and Empress. The outer precincts, connected by beautiful motor roads, contain the Jingu Stadium, which is undoubtedly one of the largest, if not the largest, and finest arenas in the Orient, with a seating capacity of 15,000. There is also a baseball ground (capacity 64,500), a wrestling ring and a swimming pool, as well as a number of other amenities. The picture gallery in the precincts is an exceedingly fine specimen of modern architecture, built at a cost of 1,200,000 yen. The pictures form a remarkable chain of historical events of the Meiji Emperor.

From here I proceeded to see the Akasaka Detached Palace, which is only a short drive from the Meiji Shrine grounds. I passed right in front of the main entrance. The palace is a very superb three-storied building, built in Western style. It has a spacious garden which is rich in aged trees and fine rocks, and it is rightly famous specially for its scenic beauty. From here I went to view the Yasukuni Shrine and Military Museum. The shrine stands on Kudan Hill and is popularly called the "Kudan shrine" by foreigners who visit the place. The shrine is really a pantheon for the illustrious dead who have fallen on various battle fields since the Restoration (1868). Kudan Hill, I would add, commands an extensive view of the central portion of the city of Tokyo. The Military Museum which is in the shrine compound contains many relics of war—swords, armour, etc.—and I found the place

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most interesting and well worth a visit. The Sengakuji Temple was the next place visited. It is about a mile south-west of Shiba Park. The temple is noted for the graves of the *forty-seven Ronin* whose chivalrous avenging of their beloved lord is widely known in Japan. Incense is constantly kept burning before the graves. I saw that crowds of visitors unflinchingly made offerings in token of sympathy and reverence to the long suffering Royal retainers. Probably the most interesting places I visited in Tokyo was the Jujitsu School, the *Kodokan* near the Suidobashi station. It is a representative school for training students in the science of jujitsu or the art of self defence. This great art is now world famous and practised in all lands. The training is held daily in the afternoon, and it is both strenuous and intensive. Thousands of students pass through the school annually.

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In the compound of Waseda University is the museum of Theatre Arts. The museum was established in honour of Dr. Tsubouchi's meritorious services in the interest of Japanese drama. It possesses 20,000 volumes relating to Shakespeare alone, 30,000 colour prints treating of theatrical subjects, and over 200 objects connected with the dramatic art. Close to this university is a lovely garden—the Okuma Garden. It contains the residence of the late Marquis Okuma, the world-famous Japanese statesman, and carries many associations. Another famous library is the Oriental Library at Kami-Fugimae-cho, Komagome, near the Imperial University. The library is endowed by Baron Iwasaki, who imported the books of the celebrated "G. W. Morrison Library." The 60,000 volumes in the library are invaluable to students of Far Eastern affairs, specially those concerning China.

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Thousands of Oriental students patronize this library to pursue their studies in Far Eastern affairs.

Tokyo is noted for its gardens. Kiyosumi Garden at Fukagawa, I found lovely passed compare. Mukojima on the Sumida River is justly noted for its cherry blossoms in season. In spring and autumn regattas are held on the river. Sumida Riverside Park I found worth the visit that I paid to it. Mukojima is a pretty spot; it covers an area of about 15 acres—a very fine landscape garden—it is one of the finest in Tokyo. Lastly, I would mention the Imperial tomb at Tama, which also impressed me greatly. The late Emperor Taisho, father of the present Emperor, is buried here at Tama near Asakawa station, about thirty miles west of Tokyo.

While at Tokyo I paid visits to many places of interest outside the city too numerous

to mention here in detail, such as a visit to Mount Takao, Miura Peninsula, Kamakura and Enoshima, to Hakone Hot Spring district (which I have described in another chapter), to Izu Peninsula, Fuji lake district, Nikko, and others.

There are many first-class places of entertainment in Tokyo. I would specially mention the Kabukiza Theatre and Tokyo Theatre; The Meijiza Theatre; the Embujo Theatre (Here may be seen the great annual performance of Geisha dance); the Tokyo Takarazuka Theatre; and the Shinjuku Daiichi Gekijo. There are also many movie houses for first-class foreign pictures. The chief movies are the Imperial Theatre, and the Nippon Gekijo. In talking pictures Japan is much behind Western countries. The imported films present language difficulty, as very few Japanese understand English when

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spoken. As a solution, many of the American or English pictures flash a Japanese translation of the English dialogue into a corner of each scene. This has proved very satisfactory and the necessity of *benshi* (interpreters) has been dispensed with.

I now come to deal in detail with Tokyo and its marvellous administrative developments in recent years. The details were kindly and readily furnished to me by my most esteemed friend, Mr. Noboru Okana, the Director of Tokyo Institute for Municipal Research, who was most kind to me during my stay in the city. I most gratefully acknowledge here his unbound hospitality, and the kindness shown to me by his secretary, Mr. Kiichi Inoma, and Mr. Shinzo Hirano.

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POPULATION AND AREA OF
TOKYO AND GREATER
TOKYO

The administrative expansion of Tokyo has brought into the city 2,899,296 new inhabitants, making the total population of Greater Tokyo 4,970,839 according to the last census. Tokyo has thus become the world's second largest city in population, ranking in this respect next to New York.

POPULATION AND AREA OF GREATER
TOKYO (1930 CENSUS.)

	Population	Area per square K. M.	Density (per square K. M.)
Greater Tokyo.	4,970,839	552,608	8,995
Former City ...	2,070,913	83,577	24,778
New added districts ...	2,899,926	469,031	1,974

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Since 1930 the figures have greatly increased. But on the basis of 1930 census, the number of households embraced in Greater Tokyo was 1,062,737, and the density of population 8,995 per square kilometre. The birth rate in Greater Tokyo was 2.55 per cent and the death rate 1.41 per cent. According to the statistics compiled by the Metropolitan Police Board, the present population is 5,298,957 including 2,777,659 men, and 2,521,298 women. There are a total of 1,130,172 families; of the total 35,097 are Colonials, that is to say, Koreans, and Formosans and 5,223 foreigners.

As for its area, Greater Tokyo covers 552,608 square kilometres within a radius of ten miles, and ranks fifth in area among the *leading cities of the world*. The new Capital's area will be able to stand an increase of another 3,000,000 and more, in population in

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future, it being calculated that Greater Tokyo will indeed be able to embrace a population of no less than 8,000,000. It may be of interest to compare here, Tokyo with the five other largest cities of the world at the 1930 census.

POPULATION AND AREA IN THE SIX LARGEST CITIES OF THE WORLD

Cities	Popula- tion	Area Sq. K. M.	Density per Sq. K. M.
New York	6,930,446	774,41	81,949
Tokyo	4,970,839	552,60	89,995
London (County)	4,396,821	303,91	14,512
Berlin	4,333,000	878,33	4,933
Chicago	3,376,438	499,31	6,761
Paris	2,871,039	78,02	36,798

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After the Imperial Restoration of 1868, the administrative organization of the city of Tokyo advanced several stages before reaching the present status of self-government in 1868, having experienced thirty years of astounding progress and transformation. The administration of the city covers a comprehensive scope of activities such as education, public health, civil engineering, traffic, social welfare works, and so forth, and the extent of their provisions and undertakings is diversified and complicated. Besides, there are mandatory works entrusted by the State or other public bodies, which the city has to execute, transfer, or negotiate.

To control the municipal business there are the city Council and the Board of Aldermen as the Legislative body who choose the Mayor as the executive head.

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Members of the City Council are honorary, and act for a term of four years. Membership has been increased to 144 from 84, as the result of the advent of Greater Tokyo. Formerly their principal function was limited to enactment and reorganization of city regulations, decision as to the budget, approval of settled accounts, imposition and collection of city taxes, rents and fees and control of city property and institutions. As the result of the Municipal Law of 1929, the right of proposing any bill, except the budget for annual revenue and expenditure, was conferred upon the members, and at the same time they are empowered to submit views and opinions to the Government Officer concerned as to affairs pertaining to the public welfare of the city. The city council has its own office.

The Board of Aldermen of Tokyo was once the executive body, but in 1911 it became a

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legislative body. It consists of fifteen honorary aldermen to whom the Mayor is added as Chairman, and deals with affairs assigned for its consideration by the Council, or matters coming within its competence by virtue of laws and ordinances, as in the case of the city council.

From 1889 to 1899 the function of the Mayor of Tokyo was entrusted to an additional post to the Governor of Tokyo prefecture. The Mayor is the executive head of the city administration. Previously, the Mayor was recommended by the City Council for Imperial sanction, but today the Mayor is simply elected by the City Council. Under the Mayor there are three Deputy Mayors, City Councillors, a Treasurer, Directors of Departments, Chiefs of Bureaux, Heads of Wards, and other numerous officials to assist him.

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DEPARTMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS OF THE TOKYO MUNICIPALITY

BUREAUX OR DEPARTMENTS FUNCTIONS

BUREAUX:

Secretariat	... Personal administration and secretarial affairs.
General Affairs	... General Municipal—re- search, elections, and legal affairs, etc.
Audit	... Supervision and inspec- tion of Municipal affairs.
Accounts	... Receipts and disburse- ments.

DEPARTMENTS:

Finance	... Budget, loans, taxation public lands, purchas- ing, etc.
Education	... Management of Munici- pal schools, social edu- cation, libraries, etc.

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- | | |
|---------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Social Works | ... Protection and correction, management of lodging houses, labour exchange, housing, commercial training, etc. |
| Public Health | ... Management of hospitals, social hygiene, refuse disposal, parks, and burial grounds, recreation grounds, auditoriums, zoological gardens, etc. |
| Water Works | ... Water supply and extension. |
| Public Works | ... Roads, bridges, harbours, rivers, sewage disposal, building, etc. |
| City Planning | ... City planning works, and adjustment of land lots. |
| Industry | ... Advancement of industries, markets, slaughter houses, weights and measures, etc. |

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Electric Works ... Supply of light and power: tramways and motor buses.

FINANCE

Budget: In 1898, when Tokyo became an independent self-governing city, its net annual expenditure was only 3,355,340 yen, but this has since grown to 135,832,494 yen in 1932, after three decades, showing an increase of more than 40 times. Since then there has been a great increase. This is to a certain extent due to the rise in the price of commodities, but the principal reason must be assigned to the wonderful development of municipal activities and functions.

The administrative expansion of the city up to 1932 has been accompanied by a similar expansion in the financial field of Tokyo. The gross annual expenditure at the beginning of 1932 was 198,798,910 yen for the old city and 39,704,285 for the newly annexed area.

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The net annual expenditure and revenue for the old city are sub-divided by categories of different enterprises and the amount of each item is shown in the following tables:—

Net expenditure of the old city (1932).

Items		Amount-Yen	Percentage
Electric works	...	49,359,427	36.3 %
City Loan	...	29,300,690	21.6 %
Public Works	...	20,383,694	15.0 %
Education	...	9,471,721	7.0 %
Water Works	...	6,877,454	5.1 %
Social Works	...	6,062,375	4.5 %
Office	...	5,667,057	4.2 %
Public Health	...	4,400,474	3.2 %
Industry	...	1,399,458	1.0 %
Others	...	2,909,574	2.1 %
Total		135,832,494	100.0 %

Net Revenue of the Old City (1932)

Items	Amount-Yen	Percentage
Charges and fees ...	48,241,230	36.6 %
City Loans ...	25,250,671	19.2 %
City Taxes ...	16,888,243	12.8 %
Government Subsidy.	7,223,615	5.5 %
Proceeds of sale of properties ...	3,740,966	2.8 %
Refundments and repayments ...	3,710,137	2.8 %
Income from properties ...	2,744,799	2.1 %
Remunerations ...	1,946,582	1.5 %
Special assessments ...	1,431,022	1.1 %
Dues ...	1,363,246	1.0 %
Prefectural subsidy ...	1,301,048	1.0 %
Contributions ...	15,119	0.1 %
Miscellaneous Income.	17,826,119	13.5 %
Total ...	131,682,873	100.0 %

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As for the finance of the newly-annexed area it is interesting to note that out of the net expenditure of Yen 38,302,604 the largest item is Yen 10,471,258, or 27.3 %, for education; the second being 21 % for public works, the remainder in order of amount being towns and village loans, water works, offices, public health, social works, etc.

In the net revenue of Yen 35,199,540 no less than Yen 13,715,196, or 38.8%, for towns and villages ranks first, and 17.2% for charges and fees ranks second, and other items in order of amounts are miscellaneous income, remunerations, prefectural subsidy, Government subsidy, etc.

The Tokyo municipality's budget bill introduced in the year 1933 into the city council for decision, gives the approximate amount of expenditure and revenue, amounting

to no less than Yen 253,229,383 respectively. This was the first budget for Greater Tokyo.

ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

The balance sheet of Greater Tokyo is made up of assets of some Yen 898,000,000 and liabilities of about Yen 675,000,000, leaving a balance of approximately Yen 200,000,000 to the credit of the city.

The Tokyo municipality has increased its assets by 86 million yen through its recent expansion in incorporating the outlying districts. The assets of the old city are estimated at 811 million yen. Of the assets of the old city area, real estate forms the largest item amounting to Yen 345,723,907. It also includes buildings valued at Yen 100,171,830, negotiable bills of Yen 1,595,000, and Yen 21,613,483 in cash accounts, and others. The assets of the area newly annexed to Tokyo, which total—Yen 86,672,827—are

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made up of Yen 20,319,685 in real estate, Yen 31,297,180 in buildings, Yen 144,392 in securities, Yen 593,785 in cash, etc.

Turning to the liabilities of Greater Tokyo we find that the total debts of the old city amount to Yen 609,910,000, or 294 yen per capita, and that of the area incorporated to Yen 65,840,000, or 22.7 yen per capita.

It must not be thought that all these debts fall directly upon the shoulders of the five million inhabitants of the city, for part of the debt has been invested in various productive enterprises, such as water works, electric works, municipal markets, harbour construction, etc. It must, therefore, be expected that part of the debt will be paid out of the revenues derived from these enterprises.

EXPENDITURE FOR FUTURE PLAN

Greater Tokyo will spend the gigantic sum of about Yen 860,000,000 during the next

fifteen to twenty years on public works, social service, educational and sanitary facilities, etc., according to the investigations made by the municipality. These expenditures include Yen 474,959,000 for new enterprises within the former city limits, and Yen 474,959,000 for new enterprises in the newly added wards. The total expenditure for Greater Tokyo will thus amount to Yen 859,363,000. Most of this money has already been raised by long term municipal bonds.

These undertakings are rapidly being tackled, with the result that at the time of my visit, Greater Tokyo is fast becoming the greatest city in the world both in fame and fact. The progress of these vast enterprises is a new glory for Japanese industry. thoroughness and efficiency which make all the world envious.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

Including all the educational institutions from primary schools to the University, the total in the old section of the city is about 800, and the number of pupils and students attending them is 500,000. The figures for the newly added districts of the city are almost the same. Greater Tokyo thus has about 1,600 educational institutions and more than 900,000 pupils and students, of which about 600,000 are primary school children.

Educational institutions in Greater Tokyo are approximately as follows at the time of writing:—

	Public	Private	Total
Kindergartens	... 21	161	182
Primary Schools	... 488	24	512
Vocational Continuation			
Schools 181	3	184
Normal Schools	... 3	0	3
Middle Schools	... 11	39	50

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Industrial Schools	...	12	59	71
Girls' High Schools	...	12	58	70
Girls' Industrial High Schools	...	1	2	3
Higher Normal Schools	...	2	0	2
Colleges	...	12	59	71
Higher Schools	...	4	19	23
Universities	...	5	18	23
Blind Schools and Deaf and Dumb Schools	...	3	4	7
Miscellaneous Schools	...	65	313	378
Others	...	22	0	22
Total		842	760	1,602

The educational facilities operated by the Tokyo municipality consist principally of primary schools and partly of kindergartens, middle schools, girls' high schools, and industrial schools, numbering 793 in all, and being a local, self-governing body, the municipality has almost nothing to do with college and university education.

Coming to primary schools, I would emphasize that primary school education in Tokyo City has made phenomenal progress since the early days of the Meiji Era. Whereas in 1870 there were only six schools, each with only about thirty pupils; in 1922 the number of children attending the primary schools of the city had increased to more than 240,000. The following year, owing to the earthquake disaster, and the subsequent emigration of thousands of people to the suburban districts, the number of pupils in the city had greatly decreased. There are at present about 204 primary schools with 231,931 pupils in the newly-added districts of the city. Thus Greater Tokyo has 497 primary schools with 637,557 pupils. Besides, there are 65 primary night schools for poor children who work for their parents during the day, or serve as apprentices in shops or workshops, without being able to attend day school. The number

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of pupils attending these schools totals 5.624 in all.

Turning to Vocational Continuation Schools, in 1901 the Tokyo municipality established a vocational continuation school for the purpose of giving proper and effective business knowledge and training to boys and girls wishing to rise in commercial or industrial life. Since then, the number of these schools has been increased more and more, to meet the tendency of the times. At present there are 179 schools of which 69 are in the old city, and 110 in the new sections, having a total of 19,355 pupils in both sections. It is expected that the Tokyo municipality will spend in all thirty million yen during the next few years for the improvement of primary educational facilities in Greater Tokyo.

As regards secondary schools, the number of these schools in Greater Tokyo totals more

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than 250, of which the Tokyo municipality operates ten schools, four girls' high schools, two middle schools, two commercial schools, and two technical schools.

A noticeable trend in secondary school education is the remarkable increase of girl students since the great earthquake of 1923, and as far as the number of girls' high schools is concerned, it surpasses the number of boys' middle schools.

MUNICIPAL SCHOOLS

Kindergartens	...	42
Primary Schools (Night Schools)...	497	(65)
Vocational Continuation Schools	...	177
Middle Schools	...	2
Girls' High Schools	...	4
Commercial Schools	...	2
Technical Schools	...	2
Vocational School	...	1
School for the Blind and Deaf	...	1
Total		<hr/> 793

For social education, the city operates young men's training groups, libraries, public meeting halls, Boy Scouts, physical training schools, exhibitions, lectures, concerts, cinemas, etc., making itself always an educational leader of the citizens.

SOCIAL WORK

I come now to social work of the Tokyo administration. Recently the scope of social problems in cities has become more and more extended, while its necessity daily deepens. Therefore policies and institutions, to cope with the situation are rightly considered all the more important in municipal administration. In the old city there are some 124,025 persons comprising 30,203 families who are in need of public aid. In the new wards the slum problem totals 193,065 in 47,825 families. The number of such people in Greater Tokyo thus totals over 317,090 to 78,028 families.

On the other hand, the problem of insanitary dwellings accommodating these people has to be taken into consideration. In the face of the fact that, thanks to adequate sectional readjustment, there remain only a few poor dwellings in the old city of Tokyo, a great number of insanitary houses for the slums are still found in the neighbouring parts. The city long ago, recognizing the necessity of installing a semi-public organ in touch with the poor, established the District Welfare Committee system and began its actual operation. It is the District Welfare committees which render assistance to these unfortunate people, always keeping in touch with them. Besides, they produce precise reports or investigations and urge improvement of diffusion to make activity more prompt and effective. There are at present in Greater Tokyo ninety-nine District Welfare offices with 1,800 committees in all.

Institutions engaged in social work in Greater Tokyo number 921, of which 304 are under the management of the municipalities. Of the latter the greater part consists of social welfare facilities and economic relief organs: Unemployment Relief Organ ranks next.

In the old wards one social welfare institution takes care, on the average, of 649 persons, and in the new wards of 1,930 persons. Omitting details, I give here a summary of the great social works under the management of Tokyo municipality:—

Number of Social Welfare Facilities in Greater Tokyo

- 1 General Organ is of social work.
(District Welfare Works and others)... 93
- 2 Protection of Children and Infants.
(Works of maternity and infants,
hospital, nursery, juvenile consultation
offices, juvenile shelter offices, juvenile
recreation ground, etc.) ... 41

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- 3 Betterment of Economic conditions. (Public tenement houses, lodging houses, public bath houses, dining halls, pawn shops, house exchange, advancing small sums, etc., etc.) 86
- 4 Assistance of labourers. (Labour, Exchange, brief courses in industry, industrial training.) ... 45
- 5 Relief Work (Asylum House.) ... 1
- 6 Social Improvement by Education. (Education of labourers, social settlement, and social reform works.) ... 18
- 7 Medical Treatment. (Municipal Hospitals, Isolation Hospitals, Sanatoriums.) 7

PUBLIC HEALTH

I now insert a note on public health of Tokyo. Problem of health preservation and sanitation is recognized as of increasing importance in relation to the city's prosperity,

expansion of urban limits, concentration of population and economic conditions. The hygienic administration of Tokyo City extends over a wide field and covers almost every phase of urban existence. The city has established the department of public health which is composed of the following three bureaux; Hygiene, Street Cleaning, and Parks. Besides, the department supervises the hygienic laboratory, several kinds of hospitals, parks, and cemeteries, and is at the same time attempting the improvement of sanitation and the development of civic sanitary ideas.

The Tokyo municipality is planning to establish more hygienic institutions and facilities for the people of the area just admitted into Greater Tokyo, and in the meantime the existing hygienic establishments of the old city have been opened for the benefit of the people in the newly-added districts. With the

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general development of the city life in Japan, the problem of preserving public health has increased in national importance. In 1933 there were more than 9,034 cases of infectious diseases among the citizens of the old city, and 4,520 patients died from various tubercular diseases. During the same year there were 12,676 cases of infectious diseases and of this number 5,335 persons died from tubercular diseases in the new wards.

The chief cause for this number of persons suffering from infectious diseases is found in the fact that the drainage and other health-preserving facilities in the districts were highly inadequate.

The city has hospitals for infectious diseases at Komagome and Honjo, and several isolation wards in the municipal hospitals of Hiroo, Okubo and Otsuka, all of which are located in the old area of the city. There are five

country hospitals for infectious diseases in the new area and they have been transferred to the city simultaneously with the incorporation of the districts where these hospitals and clinics are situated.

Moreover, there are several disinfecting stations within the city, the first of these having been established in 1886 by the Prefectural Government of Tokyo. It was later given over to the city for administration. Later several branches were established. There is a plan to establish three disinfecting stations in the area forming the new part of Greater Tokyo and sites have been already selected. The old city has established five municipal hospitals for poor patients as part of the reconstruction of the capital. These hospitals will serve the citizens of the area before the proposed new establishments are built. The clinics in the old suburbs will be

transferred to the municipality under whose direction and administration they will be improved.

The sanatorium for tubercular patients established at Nogatamachi in 1920 has been utilized to full capacity, and the expansion made with the money donated by the Iwasaki family has been added, but yet more patients apply for admittance than the hospital can accommodate. Under such circumstances the city is planning to expand its hygienic service as soon as possible.

In addition to free treatment given at the municipal hospitals, the city also adopted the system of issuing free treatment tickets. Those who have tickets can secure treatment free of charge by any physician or hospital within the city.

Refuse Disposal:—The city has keenly felt the importance of garbage disposal for the

preservation of public health, and has appropriated Yen 1,850,000 towards the construction of 14 incinerators, of which the first incinerator was constructed in 1929 and the others are nearing completion. And now, as a result of the extension of the city, several incinerators in suburban districts under the management of the town and village authorities have been transferred to the direct management of the Tokyo municipality.

As for the disposal of the nightsoil, the city will have half solved the problem when every house has a flush toilet system, and when the city's sewage system has been perfected.

Here, I would like to insert a note on the remarkable institution at Tokyo, known as the Tokyo Institute for Municipal Research.

The Tokyo Institute for Municipal Research and Its work

The growing importance of municipal problems has of late come to attract public attention so seriously that institutes for their investigation have been founded in various sections of the country. At the fore in this new movement, the Tokyo Institute for Municipal Research has grown to be one of the largest and most important. I propose here to give my readers a brief account of its organization and work.

This Institute is an independent public organization established as a legal corporation in 1922, and has for its objects various studies and investigations of general municipal administration and the realization of the results of such investigations in cooperation with the municipal authorities. For this purpose it is

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specified that the Institute undertakes the following items of service:—

1. Scientific studies and investigations of municipal administration.
2. Establishment of training schools, libraries, and public exhibits.
3. Publication of books and pamphlets.
4. Securing information for government or public offices, and presenting views and suggestions to official organizations, public or private.
5. Drawing up city plans for public improvements.

The work so far undertaken by this Institute is so varied and divergent that space does not permit me to give a complete enumeration of its activities. The work is purely theoretical and idealistic in its

scientific plans for municipal administration; but on the other hand, the Institute has never neglected the practical problems of cities, and in the reconstruction work after the earthquake, has done much in civic education and practical reform. The most notable activity was manifested in the campaign for ideal education. The chief achievements and tasks of the Institution may be enumerated as follows:—

1. The Institute invited Dr. Charles A. Beard as its advisor in 1922, to make a scientific investigation of the administration of Tokyo, and published his report which contained unreserved criticisms and opinions about different phases of Tokyo City administration. This not only gave valuable material to the city authorities and students of municipal government, but went a far way toward introducing Japanese local adminis-

tration to foreign countries. By no means a less appreciative contribution was made, when he was invited a second time by the Institute, immediately after the great earthquake and fire of 1923, to come and give his unbiased advices on the reconstruction of the Capital.

2. Most of the studies and investigations so far made by the Institute have been published. Many of these pamphlets are furnished free of charge to whoever may be interested in them. Some books and pamphlets are published periodically, others as occasion demands. Among the former are the "Municipal Problems" a monthly journal, and the "Library Monthly;" the latter category includes "Materials for Municipal Research," "Lectures on Municipalities," "Pamphlets on Municipal Problems," and voluminous tracts called "Citizens's Cards." These occasional publications are issued

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several times in a year in forms best fit for distribution. The results of investigations are generally published in book forms as soon as completed.

3. The Institute Library contains about 20,000 volumes, all of which, with other materials, are offered for citizens' free use.

4. With a fund that was established by Dr. Charles A. Beard, a citizen's prize essay contest is held annually and the best are published in newspapers, magazines, and in book form.

5. The Institute answers questions and inquiries from all quarters regarding municipal problems; meets requests for public lectures, and aids foreign visitors in their inspection of their municipal administration.

6. It participates in international conferences and in other government investiga-

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tions, always cooperating with foreign institutes of the same kind.

There are six departments in the Institute ; legislation, traffic and town planning, public enterprises, cultural and social services, public health, and municipal finance and economy. Each department is under a director, and its investigations are conducted both by the staff members and a special committee appointed from among experts outside the Institute. The greater part of the Institute's funds, Yen 3,500,000, were contributed by Mr. Zenjiro Yasuda, in deference to his father who, before his death, showed much concern over the municipal government and himself had intended to make a donation for this Institute.

Of the above funds, about three million yen has been appropriated for the construction of the Institute building, in which the huge

staff carry on their manifold business, and the Hibiya Municipal Auditorium, both constructed at the south corner of the Hibiya Park. The annual average budget of the Institute is 200,000 yen. The Institute was first established by the late Count Goto, and is now under the able presidentship of Baron Sakatani; he is assisted by eleven directors, four auditors, and a board of one hundred and thirty-six trustees.

PARKS

I come now to a brief description of Tokyo's marvellous parks. In olden times when the original limits of the city were not so large, and especially when there was no modern industrial organization, the city itself had enough scenes of natural beauty, so that the people of Yedo, i. e., present Tokyo, did not know anything about public parks, while there were several precincts of shrines and

temples which virtually seemed as parks. Subsequently, as the significance of public parks came to be understood gradually, and at the same time a demand on the part of the citizens for parks was published in 1890, and in 1903, the Hibiya Park was laid out on modern lines, the parks in Tokyo entered on a epoch-making era. Since then the city tried to avail itself of every opportunity for extension or addition of its public parks. There were the Tokyo and Hibiya parks and 32 other parks in the city prior to the earthquake of 1923; but under the capital reconstruction plan three large parks and 52 small parks were laid out. With the inauguration of Greater Tokyo three parks in the old suburbs have been taken over by the municipality. Thus the city has today 100 parks with a total area of 2,653,000 square metres. Further, there are places such as the outer park of the Meiji Shrine and the Imperial Palace, which,

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although maintained and managed by the State, are open to the citizens.

In park area, Greater Tokyo will not have much to its credit, the parks in Greater Tokyo occupying only 42 per cent of the entire city area. The only consolation for Greater Tokyo in this connection is that the new area includes a considerable portion occupied by gardens and farms and that the municipal authorities are planning to open several new parks in the newly added districts. For the control of these parks, the city has the Park Bureau, and is paying due attention to their improvement. The maintenance expenditure is disbursed entirely from park revenue such as charges and fees of establishments.

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

I have now to consider one of the most important items of this chapter, namely, the

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commerce and industry of Tokyo. The administrative expansion of Tokyo in recent years has been accompanied by a similar expansion in the field of its industrial life. As the result of the recent growth of the city, it has become the largest industrial centre of the whole Japanese Empire, far surpassing the industrial output of Osaka, which had hitherto been the largest industrial centre of the nation. Tokyo now produces 17 per cent of the total production of the country valued at over six billion yen per year. Tokyo's share is placed at 1000 million yen per year. Classified according to the different branches of industry, we find that manufacturing is almost the sole industry of the capital, with an annual value of Yen 950,148,358 or 96.16 per cent of the industrial output of Greater Tokyo. Other industries and their annual values, which are quite insignificant compared with manufacturing industry, include agri-

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culture with Yen 9,482,176 or 0.95 per cent. Live stock industry with Yen 14,316,398 or 1.45 per cent of the total industrial production. The following table shows the divisions of Greater Tokyo's manufacturing industry, each with its annual value:—

Chemical Manufacturing.	Yen	201,284,442
Machinery and Tools	„	167,949,426
Food Stuffs Manufactur-		
ing	„	166,174,334
Spinning and Weaving.	„	96,197,466
Metal Manufacturing	„	86,457,401
Gas and Electricity	„	83,540,501
Printing and Book Bind-		
ing	„	75,127,201
Timber and Wood-work.	„	18,459,988
Ceramic Manufacturing.	„	11,315,814
Others	„	43,641,785
Total		<hr/> 950,148,358

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As for the number of factories, Greater Tokyo has 7,626 including 4,877 in the former city area, and 2,749 in the area newly incorporated in the municipality. In these factories 166,531 workers, including 128,640 men and 37,891 women, are employed.

MUNICIPAL MARKETS

Tokyo is the centre of consumption as well as the industrial pivot of the country, so that the Tokyo municipality is always giving a good deal of attention to consumption economy and controls the Central Wholesale Market, retail markets, and slaughter houses, expecting to attain full success in industrial administration. The people of Greater Tokyo annually consume nearly a million tons of fresh provisions valued at yen 165,000,000.

To supply a large city with fish, vegetables, fruits, meats, eggs and other fresh provisions

is an important problem; as being native products they have to be transported and distributed as speedily as possible.

Formerly in the city of Tokyo there were several wholesale markets scattered here and there without any control, causing various evil practices. To cope with this condition the Tokyo Central Wholesale Market has been established. The plan of establishing this market was made in 1923 when the Central Wholesale Market Regulations were promulgated. This market is now under construction and will be ready by the end of the next fiscal year at a cost of about Yen 15,000,000. This market with its perfect sanitary arrangements and completeness of equipment, is expected to be one of the finest and largest markets in the world.

The Central Wholesale Market has two branches in the old sections of the city, and the plans for adding four more in the newly-

added districts is under consideration. There are nearly 762 retail markets in Tokyo including public and private ones.

WATER WORKS

One of the immediate benefits for the citizens of the districts which have been incorporated into Greater Tokyo is the supply of good drinking water by an up-to-date and scientific method. The municipality has directed its efforts at establishing the necessary facilities to have ample water for its five million souls. The following table is of interest as it shows the present condition of water supply in Greater Tokyo:—

	City Water Works	Private Water Works
Area supplied	234,460 Sq.K.M.	102,701 Sq.K.M.
Houses supplied	564,222 ..	69,251 ..
Population supplied	3,201,082 ..	332,031 ..
Hydrants	468,934 ..	67,651 ..
Quantity of supplied water	197,642,224 Cubic metres.	17,337,718 Cubic metres.

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The origin of the water supplies of the city dates back 350 years, to the year 1590, when Iyeyasu Tokugawa saw, as he entered Yedo (the present Tokyo) that the district was low-lying, with water of bad quality, and that the future residents would be sure to suffer from want of good drinking water. He therefore instructed his engineers to undertake the construction of water works so as to prevent water famine. This became the water works of Kanda as it is called to this day. It was in the twenty-third year of the Meiji era that a fundamental development of the city's water system was made, and the water of the river Tama was led to Yadobashi Filter Beds.

The gigantic work was commenced in 1892 and took twenty years to complete. It was actually completed in 1911. In 1916, the construction of a big reservoir at Murayama was undertaken and was finished in ten years.

This lies about forty kilometres from the civic centre of Tokyo. The maximum capacity is some 12,355,000 cubic metres and the total area of land used is about 32,000 square kilometres. The city has constructed a still larger reservoir at Yamaguchi village, adjoining the Northwest of the Murayama Reservoir. This was completed recently and its effective capacity is about 17,700,000 cubic metres. The above two reservoirs, however, will not be sufficiently large when the modern facilities are extended over every part of the area newly incorporated. A plan for the establishment of another gigantic reservoir around Okochi village has been passed. This reservoir's capacity will be six times the combined capacity of the reservoirs at Murayama and Yamaguchi. When these works are completed, as they soon will be, a perfect supply of water, the basic item of daily life for the citizens and the root of health preservation,

will be materialized. Prior to the annexation of the outlying districts of Tokyo, water had been supplied to the people of these districts by the water works of town and village co-operatives of private water supply companies. In other cases, village or town offices administered their respective water system. After the incorporation of these regions into Greater Tokyo, these water systems were transferred to the water works bureau of the municipality, with the exception of private water supply companies which have now been purchased by the city. It is estimated that the citizens of the districts newly added to Tokyo pay for the water supply about 32 per cent less than what they were paying prior to the annexation. The appropriation of 96,400,000 yen was made for the purpose of extending the whole supply for Greater Tokyo.

SEWERAGE WORKS

From the time of its foundation centuries ago the city had open street drains (resembling those we see in Indian cities), by which the surface and waste waters were discharged into moats, navigable canals, and rivers. However, with the development of the city and its increase of population, these drains developed without system, so that by their means sanitation and general hygiene became extremely difficult.

From 1883 to 1885 some sewers of the separate system were laid in Kanda ward for the first time, and this was the origin of a modern sewerage system in Tokyo. It was in April 1908, that the fundamental scheme of the city's sewerage system was established and the work commenced in June 1911. Since then the Tokyo municipality has spent a total sum of Yen 88,500,000, or 62% of all scheduled

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expenditure, and the total length of the sewer pipes laid down so far is only 53% of the whole proposed course, or 912,000 metres.

On the other hand, there was a plan for sewerage work in the old suburbs. It was established by the Tokyo Prefectural Government according to the City Planning, and the plan included the construction of the sewer pipes totalling 112,570 metres, and several disposal works and pumping stations. Besides, there were several sewerage systems under the management of the office. All of these establishments have been taken under the management of the Tokyo municipality with the inauguration of Greater Tokyo, when the adjoining towns and villages were incorporated with the city of Tokyo. Greater Tokyo is planning to spend something like Yen 108,000,000 in the next ten years for the purpose of improving the drainage system of the

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districts newly added to it, and Yen 8,000,000 for the old city. The completion of the work will solve fundamentally the problem for the disposal of the city's nightsoil. However, the progress of the work is admittedly rather slow in spite of the strenuous efforts of the municipality. But it will not be long until full completion of an up-to-date sewerage system will make a clean sweep of the prevailing annoyance.

STREETS AND BRIDGES

I now come to the most interesting portion of this chapter, namely, the streets and bridges of Tokyo. Streets have a close relation to a city's beauty and the citizens' health. But I would point out that Tokyo's city streets prior to the great earthquake of 1923 were crooked and unsightly in many respects. This was a remnant of the old streets of Yedo, which were constructed for strategic purposes.

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However, the construction of new streets following the great disaster has done away almost completely with this feudal remnant and has brought forth a complete change in streets traffic facilities. Now Tokyo can boast of modern streets that stand most favourable comparison with those of the leading cities in Europe and America.

The present streets of Tokyo are divided into three categories:—(1) State, (2) Prefectural and (3) Municipal. The total length is about 6,960 kilometres, and the total area is 37,100,000 square kilometres, of which 11,000,000 square metres have been paved. These streets are all constructed by the Mayor direct, and the city is paying the closest attention to their management, i.e., permission for use, maintenance, repair and pavement.

Greater Tokyo is spending, and has spent, enormous sums of money upon improvements

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in its roads and streets. It is expected that the city will spend about Yen 330,000,000 in the next few years for still further improvements. Of this amount Yen 140,000,000 will be used for the construction, improvements and repairs of streets in the new area of the city, while about Yen 190,000,000 will be used for similar purposes in the old area.

BRIDGES:—Rivers and canals through the city number about 70, with an aggregate length of 400 kilometres, and almost all are under the control of the Mayor. The number of bridges that span rivers amount to 4400 in Greater Tokyo with a total area of 375,000 square metres. Prior to the great earthquake of 1923 there were many wooden and stone bridges in the city, but now Tokyo has strong, large, and magnificent steel or ferro-concrete bridges built to meet the development of means of conveyance. For the maintenance

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and repair of bridges the city is always giving due and careful attention.

TOKYO HARBOUR CONSTRUCTION

Tokyo, as I have already stated, is situated at the head of Tokyo Bay, and the river Sumida runs through the city and empties into the bay. As Tokyo is almost surrounded by water, ample shipping facilities are essential to its economic progress. To provide harbour accommodation, the Tokyo Prefectural Government undertook to dredge the lower course of the Sumida river in 1887, but the work was taken over by the Tokyo municipality much latter. In 1906 a small-scale plan of dredging was effected with a budget of Yen 2,500,000 to which another Yen 2,500,000 were added in 1911, and the work was completed in 1917. The above improvements afforded anchorage for only small steamers and lighters in a channel some

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3.6 metres deep and 127 to 182 metres wide, accommodating steamers of no more than 500 tons. But such meagre accommodation soon proved inadequate to the needs of the capital; for steamers of from 1,000 to 3,000 tons began to crowd the bay of Shibaura with much risk to shipping. In view of the general progress of the shipping industry, the third stage or improvement work of the river Sumida was begun in 1922, at an expenditure amounting to Yen 6,000,000. The great earthquake and fire in Tokyo and its neighbouring districts in the following year, 1923, led to shipment of considerable quantity of provisions, building materials, and other relief articles by the adventurous entry into the Tokyo harbour of a large number of 2,000-ton vessels, the cargoes of which were discharged with great difficulty and piled mountains high before the suffering citizens.

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This dreadful event awoke the Tokyo people to the urgent necessity of solving the harbour question, as one of the most urgent and practical undertakings. Consequently, the scale of the third stage improvement work was immediately extended. Expenditure in the meanwhile increased to Yen 18,000,000 at one leap, and the work is now almost completed with that thoroughness and efficiency peculiar to the Japanese people.

As regards the scale of the work, the navigation route is to be standardized at 6.7 metres in depth and 145 metres in width, so as to enable 60,000-ton steamers to enter and leave without difficulty, availing themselves of flood tide. The anchorage area covers an extent of 1,450 square kilometres and can accommodate 50 ships of over 3,000 tons. The mooring quay is of ferro-concrete under-case construction, 7.6 metres in depth, and

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extending for a distance of 910 metres at Shibaura. Therefore on its completion, seven 3,000-to 6,000-ton vessels can be simultaneously, loaded or unloaded along the quay. Besides, the pier extending for a distance of 564 metres, which was erected at Hinode-Machi, has been in operation since August 1930, and is now being utilized with remarkably high efficiency. Freight collected and distributed at Tokyo Harbour aggregated 8,579,000 and odd tons average for the last four years, of which about 40% was unloaded directly at Tokyo Harbour, the remaining 60% being transhipped at Yokohama and conveyed to Tokyo by lighters. Thus it is seen that the work of Tokyo Harbour is considered still inadequate to the city's needs. Now, with the rehabilitation of Tokyo, the advent of Greater Tokyo has been realized, and goods coming and leaving Tokyo are increasing to a truly marvellous extent.

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The Tokyo municipality has planned extension work, and the Tokyo Harbour Construction Scheme for a period of ten years at an expenditure of Yen 32,000,000, which has been passed by the City Council in 1930 and put into practice the following year, should be considered a very appropriate and timely undertaking closely coping with the general trend of the times. The outline of the above plan is briefly as follows:—

The loading capacity of the harbour is to reach 7,500,000 per annum. The harbour is being dredged so as to receive at one time eighty vessels of less than 6000 in tonnage. Construction of quays, landing places, parking places for larger or drafts, roads, bridges, railways, warehouses, and recreations grounds which will cover an extent of 6,570,000 square metres. On the morrow of completion, great economic development of Tokyo will be expected.

TRAFFIC FACILITIES

Means of communications are, no doubt, indispensable factors for urban life. It is no exaggeration to say that the development of a metropolis depends chiefly on improvement of the means of transport. While the Japanese governmental electric lines serve the outskirts of one side of Tokyo, various private lines cover all the other important points along the former city limits. The former operates a total length of 96 kilometres, and the latter, 13 private companies, maintain 200 kilometres of total trunk length within the limits of Greater Tokyo. These, in conjunction with municipal tramways and motor bus lines, form a network of traffic lines spreading over the entire city. More than ten hundred million passengers are carried annually by these conveyance facilities in Greater Tokyo. This tremendous figure corresponds to one

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third of the total number of passengers in Japan. The following table shows the number of passengers carried by the different systems of transit in Greater Tokyo during the year 1930:—(the latest figures are not available).

Municipal Tramways.	369,738,389	34.01%
Govt. Railways ...	351,290,582	33.07%
Private Suburban Railways ...	212,934,216	20.02%
Motor-Bus Lines ...	118,201,681	11.11%
Subway Lines ...	10,041,945	0.09%
<hr/>		
Total ...	1,062,206,813	100.00%

Besides, there are today some 10,000 taxicabs in Tokyo and the number is increasing every year. The number of passengers carried by them is estimated not less than 200,000 per diem.

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CITY TRAMWAYS

Carrying some one million passengers daily, a total track length of 345 kilometres, and controlling the pivot of urban means of communication, form the present task of the Tokyo municipal tramways. Twenty years ago, when the system was purchased by the city from the Tokyo Railway Company, both the number of passengers and the length of track was less than half of what it is today.

MOTOR BUSES

After the earthquake of 1923, the restoration of conveyance facilities in the city seemed to be impossible for a time. The damage sustained by transportation enterprises was too severe in tracks and rolling stock, half of which was completely destroyed, that fear was entertained for early restoration. As an alleviation measure, municipal buses were

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started in January 1924, and gradually extended to the whole city as projected. Subsequently, permanent operation was established and the best attention has been constantly given for improvement and extension of service. At present the city motor-bus system owns a total of 660 cars and lines reach 130 kilometres. Further there are 52 private motor-bus companies in Greater Tokyo with a total of 1,000 cars and nearly 680 kilometres of lines.

SUBWAYS

In addition to surface traffic facilities, there is under construction a subway. Tokyo's subway is an entirely new enterprise, started soon after the earthquake of 1923. Though so far only six kilometres are operated by a private company, a system that will serve the whole city is projected. When the whole subway is completed—and it soon will be—the

citizens of Tokyo will have the benefit of all the speedest and most modern modes of transport. Furthermore, New Tokyo will include the airport out at Haneda within the city limits, these adding an ultra-modern touch to the transportation system.

I will now draw this chapter on Tokyo to a close by a brief reference to Tokyo's electric works.

If means of conveyance be likened to arteries of urban life, the supply of light and power may be likened to the blood, as it supplies native power to all kinds of enterprise, and is able to extend urban life into the night. At present electric light and power in Greater Tokyo are supplied by the Tokyo Municipal Electric Department and five private companies.

The Tokyo Municipal Electric Department and the electric power stations, and the above-

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mentioned private companies get electric power from the Kimigawa Hydro Electric Company, Nippon Electric Power Company, and Daido Electric Power Company.

The Municipal Electric Department uses more than 250,000,000, Kilowatt-hours annually for the two enterprises of Electric Railways and power supply. Concerning self-supply of power, the authorities are pursuing untiring study, but have not arrived at a solution so far but are about to do so at the time of writing. There were two fuel-burning power plants, but both were destroyed by the earthquake in 1923. After their destruction great inconvenience was experienced, so that it was arranged to construct a 10,000-kilowatt-hour reserve fuel burning power plant, at Shibaura. The work was completed in November 1928, and started power generation rendering immense service

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I have now come to the end of the chapter on Tokyo and Greater Tokyo. I have not touched on some important points for lack of space but those which I have discussed will, I feel sure, prove of considerable interest to my readers.



GLIMPSE AT SHANGHAI



CHAPTER VI

GLIMPSE AT SHANGHAI

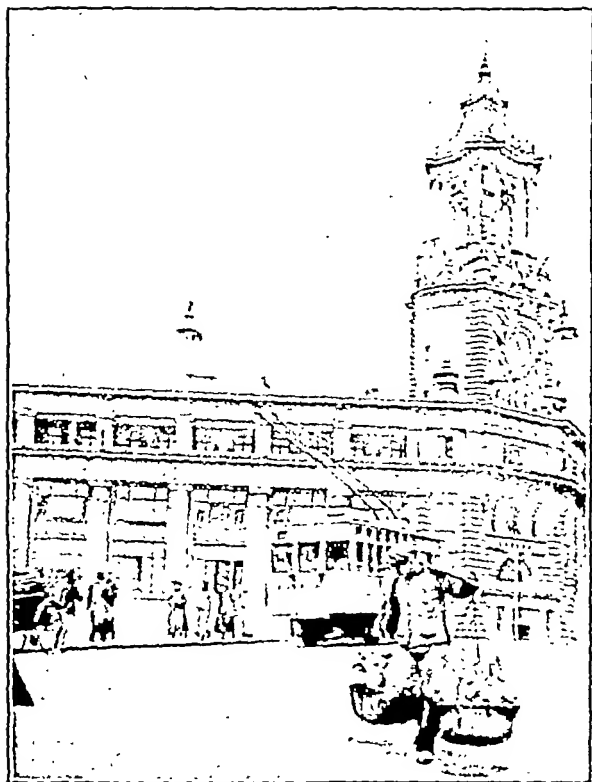
It was not possible for me to make an extended tour of China, as was my first intention, during my visit to the Far East. But I would like to refer very briefly in the space at my disposal, to my short visit to Shanghai.

As my readers must be aware, Shanghai is a most important city and treaty port of China in the Province of Kiangsu, on the left bank of the Hwang-Po, situated on the eastern edge of the "Great Plain" of China. The town is divided into two parts, the "Native Quarter," and the European or the International Settlement, with a population of over a million people—970,000 Chinese and 30,000 foreigners.

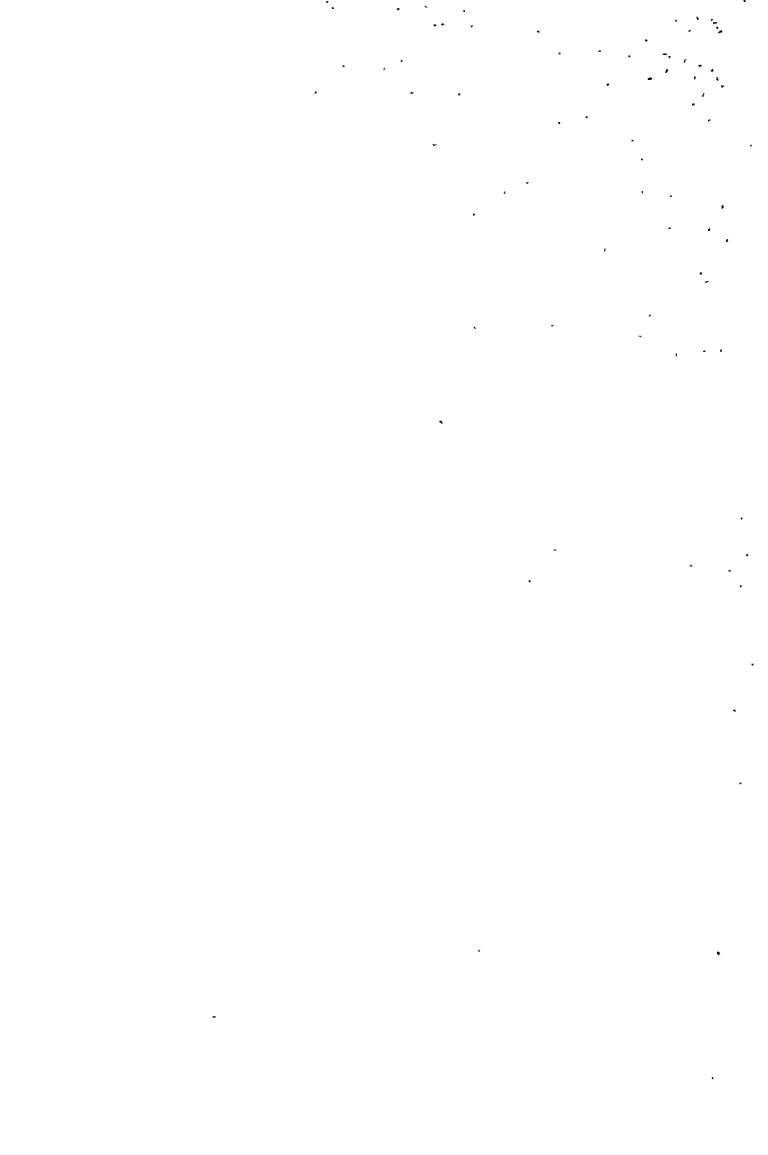
The Native Quarter, about a mile in diameter, with its narrow, filthy streets, and surrounded by walls, was once noted for its cotton industry. In Shanghai, an urbanized labouring class is springing up. It consists mainly of people who have sold their lands and migrated to the city, and of younger sons and daughters who prefer the freedom of city labour to the more restricted occupations of the army or domestic service, which are the usual lot of younger children and unmarried daughters. About 70 per cent of the modern industrial workers are women.

The European settlement has grown enormously since 1842 when it was chosen as one of the treaty ports of China, according to the Treaty of Nanking.

Shanghai has a large foreign transit trade and a native junk trade. Besides being a



Chinese Post Office Shanghai



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great trading port, it is rapidly becoming a large manufacturing centre with cotton spinning and weaving factories. There are also important tailoring factories, iron works, weaving and dyeing factories for silk and wool, as well as cotton.

There are match factories, printing works, manufactures of pianos, jute and leather, carpentry works, leather factories, and paper mills. Shanghai also has an important ship-building, and ship-repairing trade, the concerns being mainly in British hands. The harbour of Shanghai has many wharves, all under private ownership, and vessels up to 24 feet can pass through the harbour at any state of the tide.

The harbour is large and can accommodate as many as one hundred and fifty-six merchant vessels and twenty-two warships at once. There are eight dry docks of varying sizes, the

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largest being 584 feet long. Considerable difficulty has been experienced in keeping the approach to Shanghai clear, the Hwang-Po having two mud bars near the North. In 1912 an agreement was made between China and the Treaty Powers, and the river was deepened, but traffic has increased so much that the main bar outside the Hwang-Po, at the North of the Yangtse, causes trouble. A committee reported on the situation in 1923, but no steps have as yet been taken.

There is also a naval dockyard in Shanghai. Its chief exports are rice, paper, cotton and silk, sugar, tobacco, and wool.

Shipping returns of the port for the year 1934 show a total tonnage of 34,583,000 entered and cleared. The disturbances that followed the changes of government have caused a decrease in trade, but the trading classes are surprisingly persistent in their

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efforts to maintain trade. The insurance interests of China are mainly centred in Shanghai. A new State bank, the Central Bank of China, was opened in November 1928, with a capital of twenty million dollars. Later the name was changed to the "Exchange Bank of India." Shanghai has a mint. The Government of China has opened a ministry of communications college. A daily air mail service has been established between Shanghai and Nanking. In 1927, owing to the grave threat to British interests from the Civil War then raging, the British Government sent out a force of 20,000 men to Shanghai. Japan has also greatly increased her military forces in recent years since the outbreak of war between China and Japan.

Shanghai is popularly known as the "Paris of the East" by observant tourists, and in

many respects it is a most interesting mixture of East and West. While the dominating business interests are largely Western, the greater part of the population, as I have pointed out is Oriental. In the teeming streets every day it is not unusual to see almost every national costume, and although the Chinese form the bulk of the population, they and their dress are nearly as varied as the foreigners and their assorted costumes, for the Chinese population is made up of representatives from every province in the country. Japanese and Russians comprise the largest of the alien population. More than forty distinct nationalities have found their way to Shanghai, and with every nation in Europe represented in the city, it would seem that there is scarcely a nation in the whole world which has not helped to make up the cosmopolitan community of the city. During my brief stay I noticed Malays, Parsees,

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Moslems, Jews, Sikhs, Japanese, Koreans, Annamese, Brahmins, Singhalese, Persians, Afghans, Turks, Russians and Javanese—to mention only a few of the many races that are to be seen in the streets.

The international nature of Shanghai's population may be judged from the vast number of national clubs established there. In addition to many national associations, there are the American, British, French, Japanese, German, Portuguese, Swiss, Italian and Jewish clubs. The schools also show the international character of the city. Not long ago one school gave a programme which included recitations in twenty-two different languages by students of the same number of nationalities. So cosmopolitan, indeed, is the population of Shanghai that it has acquired the name of "a miniature League of Nations."

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The native city which gives its name to the now important part of Shanghai, is of no great importance commercially. It was only a small village when it was first known in the kingdom of Wu, the feudal state of which Soochow was the capital. When Shi-Hwangti, who built the Great wall of China, captured the delta, he made Shanghai a *hsein*, or district, and during the Sung dynasty the name of Shanghai began to be used, the first mention being chronicled in 1075 A.D. Before the foreigners came and developed it into China's largest port, it was only a small fishing port enclosed by a sturdy wall to protect it against inroads of marauding Japanese pirates, and could boast of no more importance than that of being a port-of-call for sea-going junks and the home of fishing fleet of about four hundred vessels. When the Treaty of Nanking was signed it was included as the most northern of the five

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ports to be made open to foreign residence and trade. It was no longer considered to be a port of North China, although the earlier geographical division is perpetuated in the name of the oldest newspaper, the "North China Daily News."

The settlement, as I have said, was formerly opened on 17th November 1842, and it at first grew very slowly. At the end of the first year as an open port, Shanghai had but twenty-three foreign residences, one consular flag, eleven business firms, and two missionaries. Today there are approximately 700 foreign firms engaged in foreign trade in Shanghai, employing about 9,000 foreigners and many thousand Chinese.

The site which had been selected for a British Settlement was little more than a reed-covered marsh, intersected by many small

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canals; what is now the famous and imposing water-front boulevard called "The Bund" was only a foot-path used by the trackers who towed the boats. The settlement limits were marked by what are now the Peking Road, Avenue Edward VII, Honan Road, and the Bund. One of the first tasks of foreign residents was to make this place habitable. How well that work has been accomplished can only be appreciated by a visit to this modern and progressive city. Six years after the British settlement was marked out, the Chinese Government gave territory to France for a Settlement between the Chinese City and the British Concession. In the late fifties, Americans leased the ground on the north of the British Settlement, although the so-called American Settlement was never formally taken over by the American Government. Later, the British and American Settlements were combined as the "International Settlement,"

while that of the French remains separate. Thus there are three distinct municipalities in Shanghai—the Chinese municipality of Greater Shanghai, which includes the cities of Nantao and Chapei, the French Concession, and the International Settlement.

These “cities” are separated only by streets, so that the new-comer and many old residents pass from one city to another without knowing it.

Of these the International Settlement is the most important. A single self-governing community, it unites the subjects and citizens of many different nations under a municipal constitution of a popular character and the administration of an elected representative body,—the Shanghai Municipal Council. The Council is composed of nine members, of whom nominally five are British, two Americans, two Japanese, and five Chinese. This

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body of public-spirited men, *none of whom receives any remuneration* for his services, has controlled the activities of the community since 1854. In that year, the Settlement established a representative governing body and provided for the organization of a police force because of the large increase of Chinese population due to civil uprisings, and rebellion throughout the land, and also because the Chinese authorities in 1853 were unable to afford protection to the Settlement against the dangers resulting from the rebellion and civil war.

The activities of the Council are manifold. In the International Settlement taxes are uniformly and without discrimination imposed and collected in accordance with the requirements of the municipality. Thus the necessary revenue is provided which enables the Council to maintain its several departments.

Of these, the police department provides an excellent police force, and administers the jails and reformatories which it has established. The control and supervision of the municipal cemeteries, the administration and maintenance of municipal hospitals, the examination of water, milk and ice-creams, the providing of clinics for vaccination against small-pox, and the maintenance of public sanitation are only a few of the duties of the Public Health Department. The Public Works Department superintends the construction of roads, bridges, municipal buildings, parks and sewers, while the Educational Department provides six municipal schools for foreign children and seven schools for Chinese. In addition to these departments, the Council maintains the Shanghai Fire Brigade, and the Shanghai Volunteer Corps, totalling a strength of about 2,000. It has been called, by competent military authorities, "the most complete and

efficient small army in the world." Since the end of the World War, it has probably seen more active service than any European army.

The International Settlement has the right to take active measures for its own protection against attack, the right to maintain an attitude of armed neutrality during Chinese wars, and the right to require all Chinese Commanders, including Commanders of Chinese Government forces, to respect its neutrality, by keeping their forces outside the Settlement limits. The years 1913, 1924, 1925 and 1927 are memorable in the history of Shanghai, for during these stirring times the Settlement Volunteer Corps and Police force, together with foreign naval and military reinforcements which had come to their aid, had to resort to desperate measures to prevent the entry into the Settlement of Chinese military forces engaged in the civil war on its borders. There

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were even more exciting times during the early part of 1932, the occasion being Japan's so-called "Undeclared war on China."

Justice is administered in the Settlement by fifteen national courts of as many different countries, and in addition to these there is also the court of Foreign Consuls, which is an international court exercising jurisdiction in cases in which the Shanghai Municipal Council is the defendant. Thus, under the long and honourable administration of the Council, this section of Shanghai has become known the world over as "The Model Settlement." Its modern buildings, clean, paved streets, and its prosperous air of business activity usually surprise the visitor who expects to find a Chinese city rather than one which has all the aspects of a continental metropolis. In passing, it may be noted that the skyscrapers of Shanghai are much higher than

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any to be found outside the American Continent.

From the banks of the Hwang-Po River on which Shanghai is built, the surrounding country extends for miles into a monotonously level plain, which, because of its fertility, is the garden spot of China. The great productiveness of this region, as well as the commanding position of Shanghai in the trade of the Yangtse Valley, have combined to make it the most important business centre of the Far East. Its trade territory embraces the great Yangtse Valley with a population of 200,000,000, or half of the population of China.

I now turn to a brief reference to the streets and sights of the city.

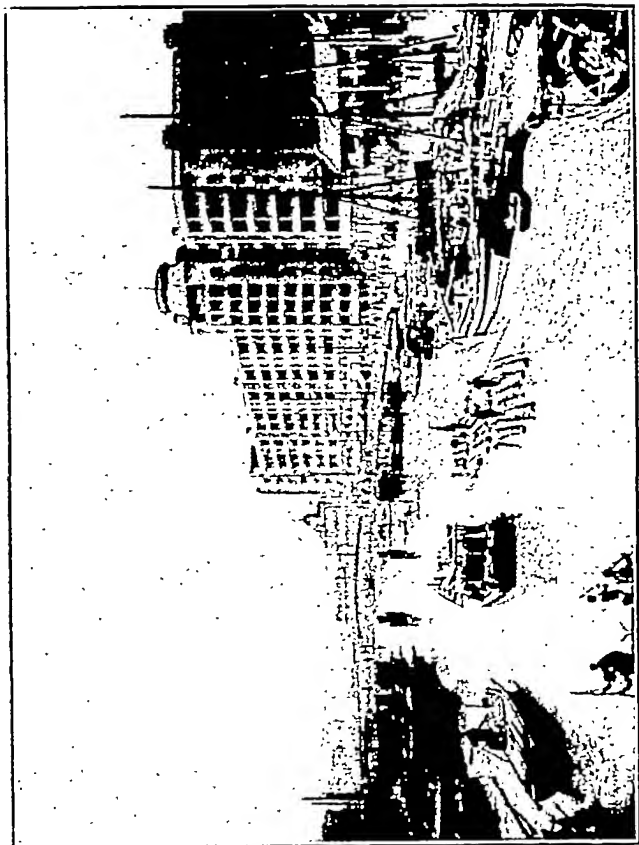
The visitor coming up the Hwang-Po river, on his first visit to China, sees but very little that suggests China or the Orient. The river is crowded with shipping, the waters dotted

with large and small steamers and freighters, tugs, lighters and barges. Here and there, it is true, he will see small Chinese fishing boats, their sails taut, scampering before the breeze, and occasionally a junk fleet putting out to sea, but more than likely this native craft is the only means he has of reassuring himself that he is in Chinese waters. The smoke stacks of many factories form a business-like pattern against a back ground of sky, just as they do in many other of the larger cities throughout the world. On the shores there are huge ship-building plants, warehouses, cotton mills, silk filatures, oil tanks, docks and a busy line of railway, the branch of the Nanking-Shanghai line from Shanghai and Woosung. This was the first railway to be constructed in China, being built by a British firm in 1876.

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For a short time the road was run successfully, but soon there developed native opposition based on superstitious grounds, railways being thought to offend *feng shui*—spirits of wind and water—which grew to such serious proportions that the Chinese Government bought the line. The rails and rolling stocks were shipped to Formosa, then in Chinese possession, and dumped on a tropical beach to disappear in rust. The present line was built many years later.

The traveller who arrives on a trans-Pacific steamer is usually landed by tender at a Customs Jetty on the Bund, the handsome boulevard, which marks the water front of Shanghai. It is shaded and inviting, and behind the trees are the proud buildings of the city's largest banks and business houses. That strange mosaic which is Shanghai is well illustrated by the medley of vehicles which



The Creek, Shanghai

crowd the Bund at all times. These include tramcars, motorbuses, carriages, motor cars, bicycles. etc. etc., all contending for the right-of-way.

The northern end of The Bund is marked by the Garden Bridge which spans Soochow Creek. The river life as seen from the Soochow Creek bridges is always entertaining. The creek is usually crowded with native boats, for much of the cargo discharged from vessels anchored in the stream is brought up this creek for storage in warehouses located in nearby streets. The public garden on the Bund at the junction of Soochow Creek and the Hwang-Po river is largely made ground. A small vessel was erected near the centre of the present sight of the garden and mud collected around it. The surrounding marsh, which formerly formed the part of the grounds of the British Consulate, was ceded to the

Settlement by the British Foreign Office, and here the present handsome garden was built.

I noticed that in the garden and on the Bund lawn are a number of monuments. Just inside the Southwest gate of the garden is a monument to the Foreign Officers of the "Ever Victorious Army" who fell in attacks against the Taipung rebels. I was interested to see the statue of Sir Harry Parkes, British Consul to China, 1882-1885, which is at the termination of Nanking Road and the Bund. Nearby, facing the customs building, is a statue of Sir Robert Hart, who was for so many years Inspector-General of Chinese Maritime Customs, and to whom much of the credit for organizing that efficient service is due. He also organized the equally efficient Chinese post office.

I noted that many of the finest business buildings in Shanghai are located on the

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Bund. In the early days of the Settlement, all of the business houses were on this water front and land then was cheap, and pioneer firms provided themselves with liberal sites. With few exceptions, they have kept their original locations, so that here, as elsewhere on the China coast, a Bund address has come to signify age and financial stability. The British Consulate occupies a large area near the Garden Bridge. Near the junction with Avenue Edward VII, the street which separates the International Settlement from the French Concession is the Shanghai Club, the oldest and most important organization of its kind in the city, long famous for the possessions what is reported the longest bar in the world.

I would here mention that in many parts of the world Shanghai is known as "The Shoppers' Paradise." This title was not

bestowed on the city by enthusiastic town boosters but by the tourists themselves, who find they can purchase at Shanghai a wide variety of intriguing articles, many that are not found elsewhere, and at costs that are unbelievably low until one grows accustomed to Shanghai's prices.

As the largest and wealthiest city in China it is natural that the vast storehouse of curios which has been accumulated in China through countless centuries should find Shanghai the logical market place. I would mention that the Chinese were skilled at fine needle-work long before European nations began to wear shirts. The Chinese workman today is equally skilled and their products are shipped all over the world, where they are sold at very high prices. Just as some fortunate women make periodical visits to Paris to replace their wardrobes, others make similar

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visits to Shanghai for lingerie. In quality it equals the best French productions and the prices are surprisingly low. There are hundreds of small Chinese curio shops, and the shops which sell laces and lingerie are equally numerous; but in these places the buyer must beware or he will pay outrageous prices for inferior articles.

I now come to refer to the chief shopping centre in Shanghai.

I was much impressed by all that I saw, for example, in Foocho Road. This area is famous all the world over for its restaurants. I found it decidedly worth visiting, specially at night when it is always ablaze with electric lights, in huge, fantastic signs. Here the epicure picks his way past shops of every description, through the vast crowds gathered about fortune tellers from all lands, and street

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pedlars, to one of the restaurants for which Foochow Road tradition is justly famous. Since Shanghai is one of the most cosmopolitan of cities, there are no Chinese restaurants serving food that can be said to be characteristic of, or peculiar to, Shanghai. The fact is that there is as much difference between the food of Peking and Canton as there is between, say that of Germany and Italy, and in fact there are numberless schools of cookery in China, each with a definite following.

The average dinner at any good Chinese restaurant consists of four cold dishes, corresponding to *hors-d'oeuvre*, four preliminary hot dishes, few main courses, four kinds of dessert (two of which are sweet), noodles, four dishes of meat and vegetables to accompany rice, and some kind of sweet gruel, generally made from almonds. I visited with some

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friends one Cantonese restaurant on Nanking Road which serves an excellent high class dinner costing 600 dollars. Here food is provided for the usual table of six persons and must be ordered in advance. Apart from the fact that the courses appear with a regular frequency that is apparently endless, each dish of this veritable banquet is an epicurean delight in itself. If I were to describe the banquet in detail it would require a whole chapter by itself. To ensure accommodation at these restaurants, it is always best to make reservations in advance. I would emphasize that no visitor who spends any length of time in Shanghai should forgo the very interesting experience of dining in a Chinese restaurant.

To the casual visitor in Shanghai, however, it is the infinite variety and number of cafes and restaurants that prove the measure of

Shanghai's cosmopolitan nature. Glittering and gay, hushed and restrained, dozens of them beckon enticingly. In picturesque little Japanese houses one may have *Sukiyaki*, eaten with chop-sticks, of course, and *sake* served by charming little figures in bright flowered kimonos. At various Russian restaurants, hours slip by apparently in the hopeless endeavour on the part of people to survive and surmount those innumerable strange but delicious courses beginning with *zakouska*, and of course the inevitable *vodka* and ending with *plombier*, that triumph of Russian culinary art.

Hidden away is one of the oldest sections of the city, I found an Italian restaurant where those with a zest for spaghetti and Chianti and Verdi were indulging their particular tastes. German, Hungarian, French, Spanish, American, Turkish and Indian

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restaurants, or cafes, are also to be found, to say nothing of American restaurants which advertise ham and eggs and freshly percolated coffee. Each of these places, the visitor discovers, has retained its own peculiar identity—those singular qualities which set it apart from the others just as one country uniquely contrasts another.

I must not omit a reference to Shanghai's races, held in the first week in May and November of each year on Saturday, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday afternoons. The entries are all "China Ponies," that is, native Chinese ponies imported from Mongolia. The riders are all amateurs. Many of the more prominent business men of Shanghai not only maintain stables, but ride in the races as well. The betting on the races, which runs into large figures, is all on the *pari-mutuel* basis; all the money wagered, except for a com-

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mission charged by the race club, being divided among those fortunate enough to pick the winning ponies. The feature of each race meeting is the championship race, and the high lottery sweep-stakes which accompany it. The race club makes huge profits, and the surplus funds are devoted to the support of charitable organizations, hospitals, and schools. In addition to the racing oval, the grounds contain a nine-hole golf course, tennis courts, a polo field, baseball and cricket field.

Shanghai contains a number of temples, buildings and gardens of immense interest. I would especially mention the "Doo Kay Say" or "Big Mountain Garden," now the headquarters of the Rice Guild; and the "Mandarin's Garden" is a very pretty spot, with its many old grottoes, rockeries, pavilions, and a most enchanting lotus pond. The Mandarin's Garden was given to the city a century ago

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by a rich official who had spent much time and money developing this private garden. A few yards from the "Willow Pattern" tea house is the city temple, where thousands of Chinese, especially during festivals, go to burn incense and beg for good luck, etc.

With April 1st,—“April Fool’s Day,”—the Shanghai gardener gets really busy for the danger of frost is definitely over. I was informed that there was once a frost on March 30th, a very unusual event, but in the many years during which the Jesuit Fathers at Siccawei have been keeping records, there has never been an April frost in Shanghai. The monthly mean temperature is 56° F., and there is less daily variation in temperature than in the winter months. That may be the reason why April is generally considered in Shanghai to be the healthiest month of the year. Thunder storm and wind start in April;

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in fact, there are more thunder storms in April than either in May or June, and although typhoons are rare, it is a decidedly windy month—windier than any other month except July.

I will conclude with a short note on the customs regulations at Shanghai. Before landing, passengers have to fill in customs declaration forms as supplied by the purser. Personal effects are not subject to duty, but anything in the way of merchandise must be described, and duty ranging from $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent to 35 per cent is assessed. Travellers are allowed to bring in free of duty not more than 25 cigars, 200 cigarettes, and half a pound of tobacco. As most brands of cigars, cigarettes, and smoking tobacco are available much cheaper in Shanghai than elsewhere, there is no reason

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why any traveller should try to bring tobacco into the port. Fire-arms, including revolvers pistols, and sporting guns, may be brought in, subject to certain restrictions, but must be declared.

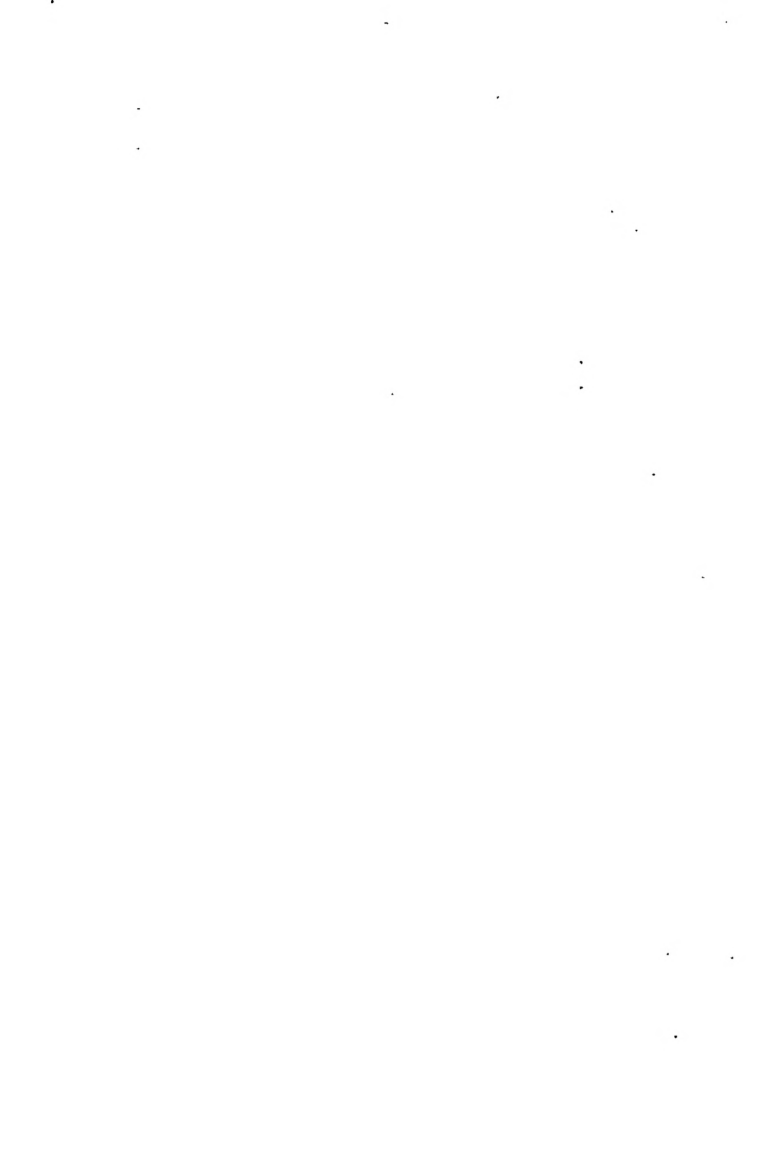
As regards currency, the old standard currency of China was the Mexican dollar, later superseded by Chinese dollars of approximately the same value. The Chinese Government has now replaced the old silver currency with a note issue of approximately the value of U. S. 29 dollars and 1 shilling and 2 pence. At the present time an attempt is being made to replace the small depreciated currency with coins of standard value, but both kinds are now in circulation. The depreciated coinage consists of large coppers, worth about 300 to the dollar and silver ten- and twenty-cent

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pieces. In addition there is a new currency consisting of twenty cents, ten cents, five cents, one cent, and half-cent coins which are of standard value, that is, they exchange at 100 cents to the dollar, and are called the "big money."

I must not conclude this chapter without giving expression of my gratitude to my numerous friends in Shanghai for their unbounded hospitality and many acts of kindness to me, in particular Mr. Faiz C. Ebrahim, and Mr. Mota A. Baxamusa.

CHARM OF PEKING



CHAPTER VII

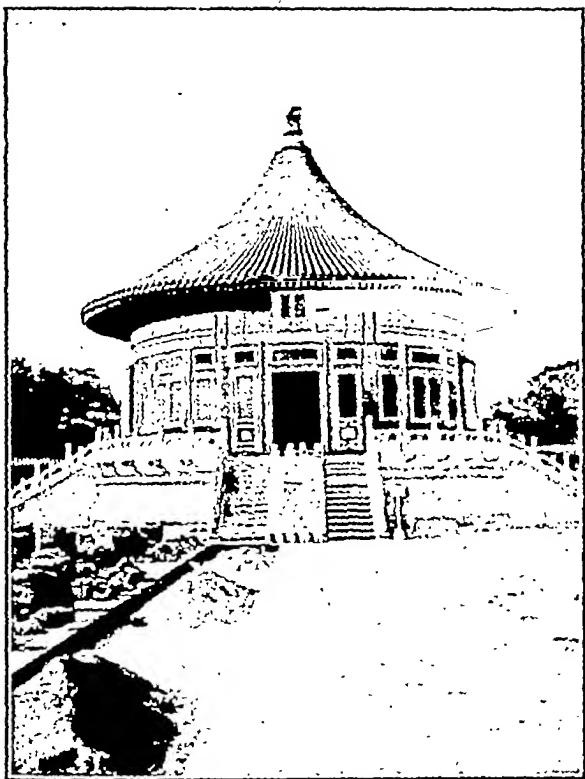
CHARM OF PEKING

IT WAS not possible for me to stay any length of time in the ancient and historic city of Peking. I proceeded by boat from Kobe to Tongku and thence by train to Tienstin and then by car to Peking.

The city, as my readers are doubtless aware, is in the Province of Chih-li and lies between the Pei-ho and Hun-ho rivers. It was the capital of China until 1928, when the Government moved to Nanking. Its name—Pekin, Peking, or Peiping—signifies the “Northern Court,” to distinguish it from Nanking, the “Southern Court,” where the former Emperors resided, and where the Republican Government now holds its court. Peking is really composed of two cities, the outer one being inhabited by the Chinese, and

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the inner by the Tartars or Manchus. Both cities are surrounded by massive walls, pierced by many gates which are surmounted by towers 100 feet high. The walls of Manchu City are 50 feet in height, and from 60 feet in thickness at the base to 40 feet at the top. Those of the Chinese City are about 30 feet high and from 25 feet to 15 feet in width. The Manchu city, which is strongly guarded, contains the Imperial City, which again encloses the "Forbidden City," wherein are situated the Imperial Palace and parks. The circumference of the combined city is about twenty-one miles, and its temples and towers are almost countless. Between the northern and southern gates run long streets 120 feet wide and four miles in length, lined with shops, bazaars, clubs, theatres, temples, and restaurants, all of which give the city an animated appearance. Other streets of the same width run from the western gates, and



The Temple of Heaven Peiking



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from these main streets short and narrow streets branch off at right angles. In Peking there is no commerce of any importance. The population is estimated at 930,000. It is an extremely ancient city and occupies the sight of a former city dating back to the twelfth century B.C. It has borne many names through the ages, and is now known officially by the Chinese as Shun-tien-fu. As I have already stated, it is famous for its innumerable temples. The "Temple of Heaven," or Tien-Tan, is an elaborate structure and here the Emperors offered prayers to the Supreme God once a year. It was their custom to "submit a report to God" pertaining to all that they have done, good, bad and indifferent, during the year under review. It was a sort of "Government Report." It was submitted with great pomp and ceremony on the day of the winter solstice. A report was also submitted giving a description of floods,

famine, and other calamities "inflicted by God," and the manner in which these calamities had been dealt with and surmounted. On these occasions God was asked for forgiveness: the whole responsibility being taken by the Emperors upon themselves: it being made clear that the Deity was in no way responsible.

This stupendous temple was first built by the Emperor Yung-ho of the Ming Dynasty in the year 1420 A.D. The temple is surrounded by a heavy brick wall. There are five temples of importance.

The Temple of Agriculture (Hsien-Nung-Tan) is opposite to the Temple of Heaven, and was built in the year 1640 A.D. by the Emperor Chia-Ching of the Ming Dynasty. This temple contains an altar of agriculture consecrated for the worship of the gods of heaven and earth. On a certain day in each

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year, special prayers were offered here by the Emperor in person, in the capacity of the "first farmer in the land." The building is specially constructed and has a very pleasant appearance.

The Winter Palace which is commonly known to the Chinese as Sanhai, or the "Three Oceans," is a magnificent building which is not open to the public. The grounds of the palace are, however, open to the public on presentation of a special permit from the Legations. There is a handsome marble bridge spanned across the lake dividing it into the Northern and Central lakes.

The Temple of Confucius is another of Peking's attractions. This is also known as Kung-Tse-Miao. It is a stately temple dedicated to the great philosopher. The temple was built in the twelfth century by one of the Yuan Dynasty. In the vicinity are a large

number of old oak trees and stone monuments and these give the place an atmosphere of antiquity and of sanctity. Both within and without the temple are sacred drums. They are about twenty in number. Of these ten are new while the others date back to about the 800 B.C., when the Emperor Hsung-Wang flourished.

The "Forbidden City" is situated at the centre of the Imperial City where stands the Emperor's Palace, containing many halls of great magnificence and splendour. The following are a few of the names given to the various halls in the Palace:—Tai-No-Tien, where the Emperors held court on New Years Day; Chung-Ho-Tien, where religious services were held; Pao-Ho-Tien, where the great Imperial Banquet was given on New Year's Eve in honour of foreign Ambassadors of foreign countries. These buildings were

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built in the fifteenth century by Yung-Ho of the Ming Dynasty.

I think it may be said that few cities in the world exercise such fascination upon the visitor as does Peking, and none will so well repay a visit, be it short or long. Other cities attract visitors on account of certain distinctive features. Paris, for example, for its beauty and display of fashion; Rome for its age-long monuments; Cairo for its brilliant cosmopolitanism. But the charm of Peking is at once more subtle and many-sided. Although one of the world centres, with an annual influx of visitors, the city preserves to a large degree its aloofness from the din and hurry of the present age; it leaves to Shanghai and to its port, Tientsin, the chaffering of the market place and the profits arising from commerce, and it remains in the Republic of China of today, the "City of the

Emperors." This, of course, does not mean that Peking is not progressive. It has experienced during the last decade greater changes than any other old city, changes, indeed transforming it from a mediæval to a modern city. But in a strange way Peking has taken all these things to its old heart without losing its old world charm, and it may be truly said that in no city do the old and the new blend so harmoniously. Broad, modern roads to-day thread in all directions; vehicles of many kinds, from the latest in automobiles to the old-fashioned palanquin, or that patient beast of burden, the camel, make their way along these roads, directed and controlled by a very modern police. But at almost any point, a turn to the right or to the left will bring the pedestrian to a scene in which Time appears to have stood still—a narrow hut'ung, lined with low, stone houses, and bordered by very



The Great China Wall



ancient trees, its dust disturbed only by the occasional passage of a rickshaw, and it is these byways, with their quaint street architecture, their picturesque blending of colours, and their yellow and green-roofed temples: it is these haunts of ancient peace that equally with the ebb and flow of life on the busy highways and the world-famous palaces and temples to which I have already referred, go to make the charm of a city which has for countless centuries exercised a very peculiar fascination over Eastern and Western minds.

When I gazed at the set block houses in the Tartar city to the North and in Chinese City to the South; their curving, green-tiled roofs and ornamented woodwork, it struck me that they hardly suggested the essentially war-like use for which they were designed. Soldiers of the Republic, with rifle on the shoulder, patrol the wall in the neighbourhood

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of these block houses; successors to the bowmen who, in days of long ago, defended the city from these strategic points of vantage. Inside the Tartar city one sees a wall of vermilion colour enclosing the Imperial City, the former place of residence of Manchu high officials and great court functionaries. In the centre of the latter one comes across yet another wall, crenellated, loopholed and surrounded by a moat, which guards the "Forbidden City," that once mysterious and sacred spot, in which dwelt the Imperial family, from whose fastnesses issued the edicts which governed the Empire, and to which only the high placed could gain admittance.

It is worth noting that Peking has, from its commencement, been a political city; and lacking the stability of cities founded on broader bases of commerce and industry, has

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been subject in a marked degree to the vicissitudes of events, rising, as the power of its temporary rulers waxed, to the capital of a State or Province, and again sinking, as their powers waned, to a mere prefectural city. On the site, or in the vicinity of the present Peking, are fragmentary ruins of former capitals. It must not be forgotten that the city, as we know it today, was the creation of Kublai Khan, Emperor of the invading Mongols of the thirteenth century. Then for the first time it became the capital of a United China, and was planned deliberately as such by Kublai Khan, forming, with its straight lines and symmetrical arrangement, a very striking contrast to other Oriental cities, with their narrow winding streets and obviously haphazard growth. Its general appearance has remained unaltered since it called forth the delighted wonder of great travellers like Marco Polo, but its grim old walls have looked

down on many tremendous scenes of drama and terror since that time. In the fourteenth century the Chinese seized the sceptre from the failing hands of the Mongols and established the native Ming dynasty with their capital at Nanking. Peking did not long suffer eclipse, however, for during the reign of the Ming Emperor Yung-Loh, the capital was again moved north. In 1644, after many years of fighting, the kings were replaced by the Manchu Dynasty, which endured, with diminishing prestige, until 1911, although it had to contend with innumerable rebellions on a large scale during the last century of its power.

It was during the reign of the Manchus that Peking reached the zenith of its power and magnificence. Envoys, messengers, and high officials of State came from the most distant parts of the Empire to make their

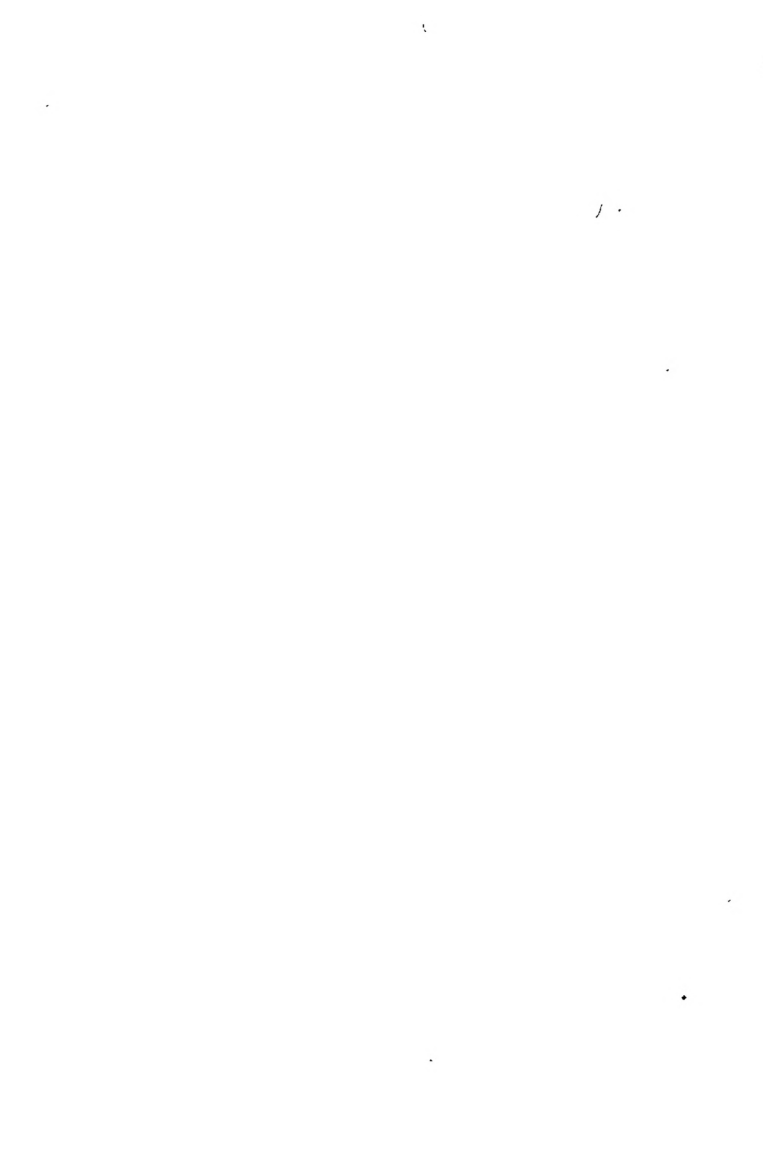
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obeisance before the "Son of Heaven," or returned with dispatches conveying the Imperial commands. Tribute caravans from far countries, from Siam, Burma, Turkestan and Korea made their annual journeys to the capital in recognition of the Emperor's suzerainty over their countries: scholars travelled great distances to compete in the examinations held there, the successful passing of which was the chief road to advancement in official circles.

With the passing of the Manchus in 1911 and the establishment of the Republic, much of the city's point and circumstance necessarily waned, to be replaced by the more austere forms of the Republic ceremony.

I took my departure from the venerable old city with many regrets.

FERMENT IN THE FAR EAST



CHAPTER VIII

FERMENT IN THE FAR EAST

Part I

SOLDIER, SAILOR, AND CIVILIAN IN JAPAN

“WHATEVER a man does should be done with his heart. Therefore, for the soldier military amusements alone are suitable. The penalty for violating this provision is death by suicide.” This extract from the code of Kato Kiyomasa, a famous Japanese general of the sixteenth century, throws some light on that austere martial tradition of the Samurai which is the inheritance of the modern Japanese army. (I have referred to this great class called Samurai, in my previous chapters.) In all countries the military profession tends to develop an ethical code and attitude of its

own, divergent from the tastes and ideas of civilian life, but nowhere is it by tradition so sharply defined a way of living as in Japan.

By the Japanese Constitution the Emperor has supreme command of the Army and Navy. He is also sovereign in all other spheres, but he "exercises the legislative power with the consent of the Diet." Since 1925 Japan has had universal *male* suffrage, and the Diet is thus a democratic institution. The executive authority, however, the Cabinet Ministers (including, of course, the Ministers of the fighting Services), is responsible not to the Diet, but to the Emperor, and the political party or group of parties holding a majority in the Diet has no constitutional right to form a Ministry. The Emperor can appoint as Prime Minister anyone whom he may choose. But so that the Imperial authority may not be compromised by the participation of the

monarch in political quarrels, the Emperor makes the appointment on the advice of persons who are formally responsible for it: these persons have up to now been the famous "Elder Statesmen," a select group of the great reformers of 1868, of whom one only, at the time when I am writing, now survives, namely, Prince Saionji.

The Cabinet, then, is super-parliamentary, but it must somehow obtain a majority in the Diet if it is to pass legislation. If the Throne appoints as Prime Minister the leader of a parliamentary majority, his task is a straightforward one; if, on the other hand, he is not a party politician, he must get his majority by striking bargains with one or more parties in the Diet. He has wide powers for overriding a recalcitrant Diet; he can, for example, obtain a dissolution when relations become too strained, he can govern for a period by

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decree, and he is not entirely dependent on the Diet for finance, for if the budget is not passed in any year, the last budget remains in force.

This is not all, however. A Japanese Cabinet must be acceptable to the Army and Navy, because either of these services has the power to wreck a Cabinet by leaving its particular Ministry without an occupant. The constitution provides that the War and Navy Ministers must be general officers on the active list, and, if there are none of these forthcoming, the posts cannot be filled. A Prime Minister must therefore select a general and an admiral whom he thinks likely to conform to his general policy; but these colleagues will always be in the first place representatives of the Services to which they belong, and they will resign rather than agree to measures which the opinion of their services

more are less unanimously condemns. Further, the Cabinet Ministers are responsible to the Throne, not collectively but individually, and the service Ministers have the right to direct access to the Emperor. Under these conditions the War and Navy officers become semi-independent authorities with policies of their own as regards both domestic and foreign affairs.

The constitutional powers of the fighting Services would not be so important for the destiny of the nation if it were not for another factor, the significance of which has been little appreciated in comments which were made on the so-called "mutiny" of February 1936. This is the Japanese system of military education. Military education in Japan means far more than mere training in the use of arms. It includes an intense propaganda on "the seven duties of a soldier," and ranges over

the whole field of political theory. Those affected by it are in the first place the professional officers, most of whom start their careers by entering the military preparatory schools, *Yonen Gakko*, at the age of fourteen; but it also takes hold of the rank-and-file conscripts, and follows them as reservists. The educational scheme is under the direction of an Inspector-General, who is one of the three highest officials of the Army, directly responsible to the Emperor and co-ordinate with the War Minister and the Chief of the General Staff. Because of the enormous propaganda power attached to this post, it is a key position in Japanese politics, and during the last few years has been disputed between the two main factions of the Army. General Araki as War Minister in 1932 secured the appointment of his chief supporter, General Mazaki. The Okada Cabinet, in which General Hayashi was at first War Minister, had him

replaced by General Watanabe, who was one of the victims of last February's mutiny.

The two army factions (at the time of writing) which may conveniently be called the Araki and Hayashi parties, differ in their attitude to the two powers which are the army's rivals in the control of national policy—the Navy and the plutocracy. The Hayashi faction endeavours to adjust the policy of the Army to that of the Navy and to the interests of Japanese finance. Japanese capitalism is not only interested in China; it is busy extending Japanese commerce throughout the world; and while it favours military action in China up to a point, it is far more interested in sea-power as a support for world-wide commercial interests, and demands a diplomacy which will be strong but at the same time conciliatory towards the Western Powers. The chiefs of the Navy tend to agree with this line

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of policy, not so much because of any direct connection with business interests as because of their conviction that Japan, as an insular country, should concentrate on sea-power; they are jealous of large expenditure on the Army, and apprehensive of Army moves into the interior of Asia, which they properly consider likely to diminish rather than to increase Japan's national strength, especially in relation to the United States of America. The Hayashi section of the Army, including most of the senior officers, is ready without renouncing a distinctive Army line on political questions, to compromise with Navy and business opinion. The Araki faction, on the other hand, with a large and zealous following among the younger officers, most of whom in the last twenty years have come from impoverished Samurai, lower middle-class peasant families, and who are keenly aware of the widespread distress in the rural areas

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is strongly, though vaguely anti-capitalist, and claims to hold the true "Spartan" tradition of the military class. Its ideal, in so far as it has any definite programme, appears to be a sort of "military socialism" with the autarky of a Japan-Manchukuo-China economic *bloc* (to be established by a militant policy on the Asiatic main land)—defiance of the Western Powers, and suppression of that unholy innovation, the Democratic Diet, which the capitalists find so useful. The danger for the moment is the precipitation of war against the Soviet Republic of Russia. What is certain the continuation of an unstable state of affairs in China will ultimately result in the complete "absorption" of that country by Japan, for I can see nothing that can prevent the onward march and expansion of Japan on the main-

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and of Asia. There may be a definite approachment between Japan and Russia, before long, as Russia's chief danger at the moment comes from the West, namely, from Germany.

Part II

WHAT JAPAN WANTS IN CHINA

Japan's relations with China is a subject discussed all over the world, in the press and on the platform, and in the course of private discussions amongst all classes of educated people. I discussed the matter with many distinguished Japanese friends and men of other nationalities during my recent tour. I give here briefly the impressions that I gathered from these discussions. The question constantly asked is, "What does Japan want in China?" The question naturally arises, when a "push forward" of Japanese "expansionism" has been heralded by a barrage of blunt statements by Japanese military leaders, and by a significant concrete development: the proclamation of an "autonomous" *regime* in the demilitarized zone where Chinese administrative authority had

already been largely destroyed under the terms of the Tangu Truce.

The question is much easier to ask than to answer, especially if one considers that Japan speaks with more than one voice—Japan's diplomats and military representatives are very discreet people. The diplomats are all formally correct and reserved in their comments on Chinese affairs. The military men, on the other hand, show⁵ not the slightest reluctance to indulge in strong, even violent criticism of the character and policies of the central government of the country to which they were accredited. To some extent, no doubt, the curious dualism (to which I have referred in my previous chapter) that is so often noticeable in the statements of the Tokyo Foreign Office, and the actions of the Japanese military representatives in China, in the expression of a difference in technique,

not of a fundamental divergence as to ultimate aims. A predominant position in China is the common aspiration of practically all the articulate forces in Japan today, both civilian and military. And there are advantages, as well as embarrassments in having the Army share with the Foreign Office that problem of dealing with China. The Army can put forward demands which it would be difficult if not impossible, for the Foreign Office to sponsor openly. After the demands have been satisfied under strong pressure of military force, Japan's diplomats can always be relied on to defend with the pen what the soldiers have gained by the sword.

A contributor to a Japanese magazine, discussing the dual *roles* of the Army and the Foreign Office, observed :—

"China is a country that must be handled from all directions by all tactics if it is to be aroused from the folly of its ways."

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Yet there are shadings of viewpoints and of emphasis that must be taken into account in order to obtain a correct picture of the complicated working out of Japanese policy towards China. The Army thinks primarily in strategic terms. It is concerned over the twin spectres of Russia and of Communism, which, to the Japanese military mind, tend to blend and to assume the form of an old enemy equipped with an annoyingly novel weapon. The army is so obsessed with the necessity of thoroughly safeguarding Japan's new frontier of empire in Manchukuo that some, at least, of its representatives are not indisposed to acquire new frontiers in the effort to ensure Manchukuo against Russian and Communist penetration.

The chief brake on the simple direct policy of the Army is furnished by the Japanese financial authorities, who realize that the

expenditure already incurred in Manchukuo could not be duplicated in North China without considerably accelerating the onset of the financial crisis, which not a few Japanese apprehend as the inevitable ultimate sequel to a long series of unbalanced national budgets. The Foreign Office is naturally responsive to such considerations, and also to the international complications which might proceed from too brusque methods of establishing Japanese hegemony in China.

Two factors have apparently set in motion the present Japanese drive to detach the vast area of North China, from the Great Wall to the Yellow River, from any but nominal subordination to Nanking, and to bring it under effective Japanese control. The first is the favourable international situation, Great Britain's preoccupation in the West, and America's mood of strong isolation. The

second and most immediate is the existence of missions like the Leith-Ross Mission, and the Chinese currency reform which was announced in November 1935.

The reform measures were adopted after a good deal of consultation between Sir Fredrick Leith-Ross and the leading officials of the Nanking Government, and received the endorsement of Sir Fredrick, who advocated an international credit scheme for the purpose of supporting the Chinese currency on its new basis.

The Japanese reaction to the Chinese currency measures was diametrically opposed to that of Great Britain. The Japanese Government was ostentatiously non-cooperative, and Japanese diplomats, soldiers, and business-men made critical and pessimistic comments on the new currency scheme. Through all the criticism ran a note of anger

based on two causes: first, that China had taken such an important step without obtaining Japan's consent and approval; second, that Great Britain was supposedly undermining Japan's "special mission" in China and advancing its own commercial and financial interests, under the guise of supporting the currency policy of the Nanking Government. An extreme example of the bitter anti-British comment that appeared in the Japanese press (though the official view of the Japanese Government was friendly and correct) is the following extract from the intensely Nationalist *Kokumin*:—

"British diplomacy is notorious for its treachery. Great Britain's true intention is to attack this country, with the United States and the Soviet Union as its tools. Great Britain may be called a disturber of China's peace and order and a breaker of the peace of the Orient. If Great Britain continues to disturb China and attempt to check Japan's advance into that country, we should regard her as our enemy."

It seems quite probable that the speeding-up of the autonomy movement in North China in November 1935 was something in the nature of a reprisal for the Nanking Government's bold decision to follow British, rather than Japanese, counsel in dealing with its financial crisis. To be sure Japan had never offered any very positive remedial advice to China in connection with the protracted Chinese silver difficulties. Japanese suggestions in this connection were usually limited to two propositions: that China should help^a itself, *and buy Japanese goods only*. It is difficult, not to say perilous, to write about a rapidly moving development. One may, however, point out a few general considerations which are likely to affect the course of Japanese policy in North China. *First of all, nothing in the nature of a second Manchukuo* seems to be contemplated, at least in the immediate future. Japan is not prepared to assume the expense

and responsibility of policing the whole of North China, or of taking such a direct part in the administration as it is taking in Manchukuo. Consequently, there would seem to be no intention to sweep away the war-lords who are now the local administrators of North China, but rather to use them as the instruments of erecting a weak, autonomous *regime* which will be dependent on Japan; which will accept Japanese "advisers," and raise no objection to strategic Japanese troop movements, but which will maintain an essentially Chinese administration of local affairs.

The creation of this autonomous North China is proceeding amid a cloud of contradictory rumours, which are understandable if one remembers that so much depends on the wavering moods and evasive diplomacy of

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three or four Chinese generals, no one of whom, in all probability, if left to himself, would voluntarily cut loose from Nanking and cast in his lot with Japan. On the other hand, it is doubtful if any one of them is prepared to sacrifice power and revenue rather than co-operate with Japan, if no other alternative is left open.

A final word about the long-term objectives of Japan in China. These are far from simple and not all Japanese regard them in the same light. But it would probably not be far wide of the mark to suggest that what Japan wants in China is the *establishment of a government, or governments which will be strong enough to maintain order without being strong enough to challenge Japanese predominance*. On the economic side, Japan would

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like to see China sufficiently prosperous agriculturally to buy more Japanese goods without becoming an industrial rival of Japan. Whether fluid and elusive, China can ever be fitted into these hard, Japanese moulds is the heart of the eternal riddle of the Sino-Japanese relations.

Part III

WHERE JAPAN AND RUSSIA CLASH

IT IS not an accidental coincidence that some of the severest clashes on the uneasy northern frontier of Manchukuo have taken place along the ill-defined boundry between Manchukuo and Outer Mongolia. It will be recalled that skirmishing started on this border in December 1935, and has never entirely died down since that time. The highly contradictory communiques that were issued from Japan and Soviet sources when more serious fighting broke out in the middle of February 1936, agreed only on one point—that larger forces were steadily becoming involved and that more formidable weapon than the rifles and machine-guns with which a frontier post would normally be equipped, were being used. The Japanese Press reported the fact that two Soviet aeroplanes partici-

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pated in an engagement at Oláhodka on February 12th, 1936, where eight Japanese were killed and eleven Japanese and Manchukuo soldiers were wounded. Several Soviet statements mentioned the appearance of armoured cars and trucks on the Japanese-Manchukuo side. I would emphasize that Mongolia is a pivotal problem of Japanese and for Soviet strategy. Until and unless the present state of armed tension between Japan and the Soviet Union gives way to some kind of understanding and appeasement, the frontier of the Mongolian areas, which are under the direct or indirect control of the two powers, are likely to be especially disturbed. Vast in area, sparse in population and national resources, the lands occupied by the Mongols lie directly across the pathways which seemed marked out both for Japanese expansion and for Soviet expansion. At the present moment these lands are divided. It is probably

inevitable that the more ambitious spirits, both on the Soviet and the Japanese sides of the dimly-indicated line of demarcation, should try to exploit their own Mongols as a nucleus for propaganda and perhaps eventual advance into the Mongolian territory held by the other Power.

A number of officers of the Kwantung Army (Japan's military force in Manchukuo), notably Lieutenant-Colonel Terada, have become specialists in the Mongolian question, learning the language, becoming familiar with the religion and customs of the Mongols. There can be little doubt that some of these officers cherish dreams of a Pan-Mongolian State, protected by Japan, purged of any Bolshevik influence and based on the ancestral tribal customs and the Lamaism (a kind of corrupt Buddhism) which has long been the religion of Mongolia. Outer Mongolia would

be an integral part of any such State; and it is quite conceivable that the Japanese military authorities would be willing to consent to an administrative detachment from Manchukuo of the Mongolian Provinces which lie to the west of the Hsingan Mountains, provided of course, that Japanese influence on the hypothetical new Mongolian State was assured and unchallenged.

The Soviet Union on the other hand, regards Outer Mongolia, where a puppet State under Soviet influence was set up with the aid of the Red Army in 1921, as a valuable out-post in the Far East which it does not propose to abandon. Outer Mongolia, so long as it preserves its Soviet orientation, is a potentially useful military corridor, through which Soviet cavalry and motorized units could strike into the western part of Manchukuo, threatening the communications of the

Japanese armies on the Amur, Ussuri and Argun rivers on the northern boundary of Manchukuo.

The loss of Outer Mongolia would lay bare a thousand miles of Siberian frontier and make more difficult the complicated task of defending the Soviet Far Eastern provinces, which lie thousands of miles away from the country's main centres of industry and population. A Japanese air base in Ulanbator, the capital of the Outer Mongolia, might even threaten the large iron, steel and machine building works which have grown up in Novosibirsk and Kuznetzk, in central Siberia, and which would certainly be turned to military uses in the event of war.

There has been an appreciable growth of Japanese influence in Inner Mongolia in recent months. A pro-Japanese *regime*, apparently

headed by Manchukuo Mongols, has been set up in southern Chahar. The Mongolian Autonomous Political Council, under the leadership of Prince Teh, has moved further in the direction of snapping the tenuous ties which bind it to Nanking. Inner Mongolia has been under a curious kind of dual government, with Chinese military and civil authorities and Mongolian princes ruling side by side for some time. It is extremely difficult, on the basis of meagre, irregular and contradictory reports, to know the precise balance of power at any given moment. But it seems to be a reasonable prediction that Japanese military power and influence will grow, rather than diminish, in Inner Mongolia with the passing of time. A substantial increase in Japan's North China garrison is planned; and Japanese military leaders, both in Manchukuo and in North China, attach very great importance to Inner Mongolia, because it is through this

region that Soviet aid in propaganda, arms, and money might reach the peripatetic Chinese Communists.

By contrast with Inner Mongolia, where distance and lack of means of communications are the main obstacles to effective Japanese penetration, Outer Mongolia is a distinctly harder nut to crack. Two prolonged conferences which were held at the Manchukuo border town of Manchouli sometime ago failed to lead to any agreement between Manchukuo and Outer Mongolia on such questions as frontier delimitation and exchange of diplomatic representatives. I met in Japan a friend who was present in Manchouli for a short time during one of these conferences, and he found the Outer Mongolian delegates surrounded by Russian "advisers" and as inaccessible as a Tibetan Grand Lama. The moving spirit in the Manchukuo delegation

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was a Japanese diplomat attached to the Hsinking Foreign Office.

The conference broke down because the Outer Mongolians, obviously under Soviet promptings, stubbornly refused to admit a Manchukuo mission into their capital, Ulanbator. Trouble was freely predicted in Hsinking (the capital of Manchukuo) after the failure of the conference, and trouble there has been since the latter part of December 1935. Inasmuch as there are no foreign observers within hundreds of miles of the obscure scenes of conflict, and since the Soviet and Japanese accounts of the circumstances of each clash are invariably and violently contradictory, it is impossible to assess the responsibility of these frontier skirmishes.

It is significant, however, that the Outer Mongolians are putting up a stiff fight, which could scarcely be possible without Russian

support and technical aid with more complicated weapons. While it would still perhaps be premature to say that Soviet Union would regard a serious Japanese drive against Outer Mongolia as a *casus belli*, there seems to be no doubt that the Soviet Far Eastern military authorities will help the Mongols to offer vigorous resistance. Since Outer Mongolia is carefully isolated from the outside world (with the exception of the Soviet Union) it is difficult to say how much internal disaffection, promoted by the drastic innovating policies of the new Mongol regime in the fields of property and religion, exists and might come to the surface in the event of a major attack from without.

The Mongolian problem, is, of course, closely bound up with the larger problem of Russo-Japanese relations. These are now much worse than at any time in recent years.

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Soviet self-confidence has visibly grown and finds expression in a stiff unyielding attitude on such questions as border demarcation, the settlement of the chronic fishing rights dispute, and the establishment of Manchukuo consulates in Siberia. Should the often predicted Russo-Japanese clash occur, the Mongols will doubtless be drawn in on both sides, and Mongol horsemen, mounted on their shaggy ponies, will be active in scouting and skirmishing in the prospective western theatre of hostilities.

Part IV

JAPAN, RUSSIA, AND CHINA

IT WOULD appear that the obligations undertaken by the Soviet Union to render assistance to the Mongolian People's Republic, in the event of a third party attacking it, has actually been in existence since 1921 when the Soviet and Mongolian governments, defending themselves against a common attack on their territories by Japan, agreed to render each other mutual assistance.

In 1921, the Japanese troops which took part in the allied intervention in Siberia had not yet been withdrawn. Baron Ungern Von Sternberg was using Outer Mongolia as a base of military operations against the Red *regime* and China was bent on drastic measures against the Mongolian insurgents and their anti-Bolshevik reactionaries. Ungern's operations gave the Soviet a good excuse for

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intervention. Despite China's protest, a combined force of Red and Siberian troops, together with the Revolutionary Mongolian Army which the Soviet had helped to form in Soviet territory, swept down upon Urga and succeeded in completely annihilating Ungern's forces. A People's Revolutionary government was immediately set up.

One of the first acts of the new government was to appeal to the Soviet Government not to withdraw its forces "until the complete removal from the common enemy." In further expression of its friendship for the new government, the Soviet Government concluded on 5th November, 1921, a Soviet treaty with Outer Mongolia virtually recognizing its independence.

All these efforts have naturally roused suspicion in Japan, and the Soviet's activities are being carefully watched. It is worth noting

that the Soviet campaign against Ungern left no less than 6,500 Red troops on Mongolian soil, and their continued presence proved to be one of the main stumbling blocks in the resumption of the Sino-Soviet relations. However, in a treaty with China on May 31st 1924, the Soviet Government recognizes that Outer Mongolia is an integral part of China, and respects China's sovereignty therein. Following 1924, Mongolia relegated itself to the back stage of international politics but forged again to the forefront with the birth of the so-called independent state of Manchukuo.

The crux of the situation is that any dispute that may arise between Manchukuo and Mongolia is in reality a dispute between the two Asiatic giants, namely, Japan, ally and protector of Manchukuo, and Soviet Russia, friend and ally of Mongolia. Japan desires to enter into closer relations with Mongolia for

economic and strategic reasons. Strategically, a control of the northern regions of Mongolia would present a formidable threat to the rear of the Soviet Siberian defence in the region of Lake Baikal ; and if the Soviet front should collapse here, the Japanese would have no fear of the 200,000 Red troops and 600 aeroplanes concentrated along the Soviet-Manchukuo border. It will be recalled that the situation of 1935 was accentuated by a series of border incidents between Manchukuo and Outer Mongolia. At one time it was so serious that war seemed inevitable. The Mongolians considered the action of the Japanese-Manchukuo troops as aiming at the abolition of Mongolian independence and its conversion into a second Manchukuo, whence it would be easy to prepare for future attacks on China and the Soviet Union. In such a contingency they expected that the Soviet Union, " which is unselfishly interested in

enabling the Mongolian People's Republic freely and peacefully to develop and prosper," would support them in the event of their becoming a victim of attack from invaders. The Mongolian expectations of Soviet assistance were more than realized. When the tension at the Manchukuo-Mongolian border was at its height, Stalin made a most important statement in Moscow in March 1936, to the effect that "if Japan should venture to attack the Mongolian People's Republic and encroach upon its independence, we will have to help the Mongolian People's Republic. We will help the Mongolian People's Republic as we helped it in 1921."

Subsequent information brought forth the fact that the Mongolian Government had, early in January 1936 and again shortly afterwards, addressed a letter to the Soviet Government requesting that the Gentleman's

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Agreement of 1934 be formulated into a written agreement. The request was conceded, and hence the Protocol of March 12th was signed at Ulan Bator.

The Chinese Government on April 7th lodged a strong protest with the Soviet Government which, after recalling the paragraph of the 1924 Treaty relating to Outer Mongolia, states that the conclusion of the protocol by the Soviet Government, in breach of its pledge to the Chinese Government, constitutes without doubt an infringement of the sovereignty of China, and a violation of the Sino-Soviet agreement of 1924; that the act is illegal, and that the Chinese Government can, in no circumstances, recognize such a protocol and is in no wise bound by it. As a whole the protocol may be viewed from two aspects, legal and political. Legally, the Soviet position is untenable; as Outer

Mongolia is an integral part of China which is recognized by the Soviet Government, no foreign government has the right to conclude any treaty with it. The Soviet argument is that the protocol in question is a sectional agreement, against the conclusion of which, for example, the Soviet-Mukden agreement, the Chinese Government did not make any protest. This is exactly contrary to the facts. When the conclusion of the Soviet-Mukden agreement became known, China lodged strong protests, calling the attention of Soviet Government to the fact that it was contrary to international practice for a friendly power to enter into an agreement with a "local official" without the consent of the government concerned, and that the act was tantamount to recognition by the Soviet of Manchukuo's independence. It is true that the Peking Government afterwards issued a mandate recognizing its validity: but as the

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Chinese note has it, "it was not until the said agreement had been approved and all the legal procedure had been complied with," that the subsequent ratification was made.

That Outer Mongolia is too weak to lend any assistance in the defence of Soviet frontiers is obvious, so that the undertakings are more unilateral than bilateral in character. In the execution of its obligations, the Soviet Union on its part has the right to take in Outer Mongolia, "all the measures which might be necessary to safeguard security of the territories." Defensive and preventive measures are necessarily wide and extensive in scope; they call not only for arrangements by the general staffs, but also for industrial mobilization and the multifarious preparations attendant upon modern warfare. Outer Mongolia is at once to be placed under the full protection and tutelage of Soviet Russia in all

affairs, political, military, and economic, to assure a successful campaign. In these circumstances to say that the sovereignty of China is not violated to the slightest degree by the Bolsheviks is to mince words. The Red Armies in Mongolia and elsewhere are directed at the *heart of Japan*, and she is perfectly justified in making all preparations to meet any attack.

Further, according to the terms of the protocol to which I have briefly referred, Outer Mongolia should lend all the assistance at its disposal to Soviet Russia in the event of the latter being attacked. But as Outer Mongolia is an integral part of China, it is not illogical to infer that in such a case China should be on the side of Russia to make common war with the "enemy." That this will preclude China from the right of taking an attitude of neutrality and from fulfilling

her treaty obligations towards friendly states is self-evident. Further, let us hypothesize that the enemy proves in the end to be victorious and demands among other things the annexation of Outer Mongolia. We have then a situation, the consequences of which are unparalleled in history. China will have to sacrifice an integral part of her territory in a foreign war, whatever happens,—in a war in which she is not technically involved. Even if we take it for granted that it is a local affair, and that China as a whole is not concerned, the result is the same.

The question also arises, in the event of the Chinese Government finding it possible and expedient now or in the near future to turn her face towards Outer Mongolia and to bring it more into line as an integral part of the Chinese Republic, first through political persuasion and, failing this, by resort to the

use of force,—in such a contingency, is China to be considered a “third party” in the sense of the protocol?

Inasmuch as Soviet Russia recognizes Outer Mongolia as an integral part of China and respects Chinese sovereignty therein, she has no right to veto whatever measures China may deem necessary and compatible with her sovereign rights.

Part V

RENOVATION PLANS IN JAPAN

As I have indicated already at the beginning of this chapter, a very grave and dangerous situation for the Japanese Cabinet arose in February, 1936; but now that the army has shot the rebel leaders and submitted to a self-imposed purge, the Cabinet is preparing to fulfil the pledges of "National Renovation" made when the February revolt was suppressed. As I was leaving Japan schemes drafted by the departments were before the ministers who have to decide which shall be adopted, financed, and carried through the session, and which left by the way-side. The public has already a clear premonition of the end. "Renovation," when it appears in the tangible form of budget appropriations, have narrowed down mainly to the provision of funds for armaments and industrial

regulation, like electric power, nationalization and an oil policy which will enhance the country's fighting strength.

An authority in the London *Times* wrote recently :

“If renovation is interpreted as the restoration of public confidence, the most important point has already been accomplished. The army's measures have been more thorough-going than people expected. The February revolt was, in fact, a blessing in disguise; it exposed a danger before it had time to gather strength. Shocked, the army at last realized the danger of allowing soldiers to mix in politico-social agitation, and fifteen paid the death penalty. It was unprecedented, and sober Japanese observers believe that General Terauchi's firmness has definitely restored the army's discipline. But in Oriental philosophy there is a law of compensation by which all things must be paid for. The Cabinet is now

facing the task of carrying out the pledges it made when taking office in March 1936. These, as officially stated, included the renovation of administration, reform of education, a positive and independent foreign policy, stabilization of the people's livelihood, encouragement of trade, replenishment of armaments. All the items are vague except the last, but something was promised and in the excitement of the crisis it was doubtless believed that something could be done.

"Mr. Hirota (a most capable statesman) invited each Department to produce plans. Thirty or more were submitted. many of these were mere departmental measures; others, like the proposal for nationalization of electric power and the lengthening of the period of compulsory education, were serious attempts at renovation. The press reported that a sifting committee

had reduced them to six "truly important" policies:—(1) increase of land and sea armaments; (2) re-adjustment of taxation; (3) nationalization of electric power; (4) a national fuel policy; (5) eight year's compulsory primary education instead of six; (6) reform of the rural land system.

"The list is changing its appearance as the discussion proceeds, but it is a useful guide. There must be added to it some inexpensive proposals which will enable the Government to fulfil its pledge to encourage trade. "Stabilization of the people's livelihood" is a hard-worked phrase in Japanese newspapers at present. No one knows precisely what it means but it has a soothing sound. A number of interesting projects, including plans for a policy-drafting bureau under a Minister without port-folio, a Ministry of Air, and a Ministry of Health, have been discarded.

"The increase of armaments has been conceded, and the adjustment of taxation is an inevitable consequence. These two forms of renovation are certain to go through. Increase of taxation is not an easy business in Japan, where incomes of 1,200 yen a year (£75) are taxed already. Cigarettes and *sake* are cheap, and the Press believes that by a number of small tax increases, and by diverting into the general accounting another slice of Post Office and State Railway profits, the Finance Minister can effect a fairly substantial increase of revenue. He must, however, provide funds for the Army and Navy and something for renovation, and at the same time endeavour to limit borrowing.

"The Electric Power Nationalization plan, as drafted, proposes a state controlled amalgamation of all production and transmission

plants in a new company capitalized at 2,000 million yen.

“Existing producers will receive shares in exchange for the appraised value of their assets. Distribution will be left in the present hands. The electric companies are up in arms, and it is clear that the scheme will not pass without a fight. It is supported by the army, partly as a measure of rural relief, for it is hoped that cheap power will enable the villages to develop industries, and partly as a source of revenue. But the main reason is that industrialization is a necessary part of defensive power. The army’s idea of national renovation, according to the *Asahi*, is “organization of the nation on the basis of national defence.” State control of industry appeals to the soldiers, not as a means of distributing wealth, but as a means of strengthening the powers of the nation.

"Another stone in the edifice of the "National Defence State" is the fuel policy. The national fuel policy includes plans for the hydrogenation of coal, both in Japan and Manchuria. German patents have been acquired, and the South Manchuria Railway Company, and firms like Mitsui, and Mitsubishi are putting up the capital. Encouragement is also to be given to the manufacture of industrial alcohol to be mixed with petrol. Such experiments require protection and the price of petrol to the consumer will have to rise by 50 per cent if the coal schemes are to pay. The finance of these commercial ventures is to be assisted, according to the press, by getting the big insurance companies to take blocks of shares. The supposedly easily won profits of the insurance business have long been a source of interest to the young officers. And petrol, at present only 40 sen (5 annas) a gallon, is dirt cheap.

“The extension of compulsory primary education from six to eight years is proposed by the Minister of Education, Mr. Hirao, a party member trained in business and full of reforming energy. It has many opponents who feel that it will cost too much, besides depriving the poor of two years earning power. If Mr. Hirao were a less energetic and less independent man, his plan could be ranked with those that are already doomed.

“Farm relief comes down to a moderate extension of plans already in operation, among them small land-purchase schemes, irregular irrigation, rural credit, grants in relief of rural taxation, improvement of fishing harbours and the like. The Ministry of Commerce, instigated by the able young bureaucrats of the Cabinet Inquiry Bureau, proposes to create an office for the encouragement of industrial invention. National renovation is

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merely a program of moderate reforms, bureaucratic in origin and complexion. No overt signs of public dissatisfaction are visible, for except among the young officers and their reactionary friends, there was no important agitation to be soothed. The public know that after the demands of the Army and Navy have been met there will be little money left for social reform. A plaintive observation in the *Hokkai Times*, a country paper, is about as far as the press in Japan has ventured to go in the way of criticism:—

“ ‘It is devoutly to be hoped that the Military will have the magnanimity to make it possible for other departments to ask for funds to carry out national policies.’

“ But the Military are convinced that defence comes first, and business men appear to agree that the Army deserves something for having put down the revolt.”

Part VI

SITUATION IN CHINA

A CONTRIBUTOR in the *London Times* wrote some time ago:

“It is worth emphasizing that the murderous military rulerships which arose as a direct consequence of the revolution of 1911 have continued in China ever since, with variations in locations and strength. The second revolution of 1926 caused changes which, in course of time, resulted in Nanking controlling the valley of Yangtze from the sea to the eastern slopes of the Tibetan plateau, together with the coast provinces of Chekiang and Fukien. Kuwantung and Kwangsi became semi-independent under the Southwest Political Council. The important provinces in the north, Shantung, Hopei, Shansi, and Inner Mongolia have come to be regarded almost as in process of separat-

ing from China under pressure from Japan. Parts of Shensi and Kansu, and Western Szechuan, are occupied by active bands of Communists which have proved most difficult to handle.

"The enormous expense of nearly ten years of campaigning against the Communists, the loss of Manchuria, and the subsequent assertion of Japanese predominance in the North, have greatly affected the power and the prestige of the Central Government. Few governments in history have been confronted with such a series of almost insuperable difficulties. Engaged in the overwhelming task of reorganizing the administration, handicapped by the corruption inherent in an archaic system, afflicted by repeated bouts of civil war, faced with disastrous decline in rural economy, and with ever-growing financial strain, the government at Nanking has never since its establishment had a moment free from

painful anxiety, or any peace to contemplate quietly the problems that confront it. Doubtless mistakes without number have been made, but the theories behind the Kuomintang policy are sound enough, and many honest men have spent their strength trying to apply them. If they have succeeded only to a limited degree, it is because the obstacles have been too great and their human instruments not equal to the work.

"It was while the Japanese question was most pressing and the finances most imperilled that Kwantung and Kwangsi suddenly chose to take advantage of the embarrassment of the Government by mobilizing their forces and invading adjacent territory. Their excuse was that Nanking had become a dictatorship regardless of the principles of the Kuomintang and was making no efforts to oppose Japanese aggression. They

declared a policy of moving northward to resist the Japanese and bringing the Government to a realization of its shortcomings in this respect. The idea was really ridiculous, for if the Japanese were attacked a few Japanese gunboats and aeroplanes could have wrecked Kwantung in no time. The two Kwangs were certainly not in the first place anti-Japanese: they were merely against what they called the dictatorship at Nanking. Their plan was to advance towards the Yangtze flying the anti-Japanese flag in the hope that their patriotic demonstration would gain support from other provinces and enable them to challenge the very existence of the present Government. But they were too slow off the mark, for General Chiang Kai-shek was on the watch, and at the first sign of danger had his forces hastening down through Hunan and Kiangsi. The two Kwangs promptly withdrew their troops into their own

provinces, but remained intractable, determined to show that they would not give in without a struggle. They understood very well that the last thing wanted by Chiang Kai-shek was an outbreak of civil war, a sign of internal disunity liable to be taken advantage of by the Japanese in the North.

“The main causes of the action taken by the Kwangs are easily explained. The policy of the Generalissimo has been to concentrate power in Nanking, and, in the incidental process of pursuing the Communists in the Far West in 1935, he put national troops in Szechuan, Kweichow and Yunnan, and brought these provinces into the Government fold. It has long been obvious that his next effort would be to get control of Kwangtung and Kwangsi, so that at least he would have the whole of the south united with Nanking in presenting a national front against Japanese

ambition. When the irreconcilable Hu Han-Min died, Nanking selected the moment as propitious, and proposed certain changes in the organization of the provincial armies, which would have the effect of vesting their control in Nanking. Similar plans were indicated with regard to the finances of Kwangtung, known to be in highly chaotic condition. The two Kwangs were immediately alarmed, foreseeing in these proposals an end of their independence. Supposing that Chiang Kai-shek, with the Japanese threatening, would not risk coercive measures, they determined on a military demonstration to show that they were prepared to fight. They were encouraged to resist by certain other provinces which fear the process of centralization, and had the distant hope, if support was forthcoming, that they might even upset Nanking altogether.

"Besides these main causes, there are others, principally the antagonism of the Kwangsi leaders to the Generalissimo, a strong personal feeling which dates from long ago. The last straw for Kwangsi was when Chiang Kai-shek, during his campaign in the far west of China, cut off the opium transit trade which passed through Kwangsi, from Yunnan and Kweichow and Kwangtung. This represented more than half of the total revenue of a poor province which had effectively abolished the growth and consumption of the drug. The opium traffic from Yunnan, Kweichow and other western regions now passes down the Yangtze, and where the tremendous revenue derived from it goes, nobody (except those behind the scenes) can tell. All the official budgets of China can be searched with a microscope without finding a mention of any revenue from opium. Kwangsi has since then been growing opium again in the effort to

maintain financial equilibrium and cover heavy expense on economic enterprises beneficial to the province. The position of Kwangtung is different. The personal question hardly arises except in so far as the Cantonese dislike any kind of external domination and are frankly disgusted that a national movement which had its origin in Canton is now no longer orthodoxly Kwomintang, while the principal leader hails from what to them is a northern province. But Canton has a positive grievance. When the Kwomintang forces moved North from Canton in 1926, they took all the ready money they could collect from the province and left a heavy burden of funded debt as well. Canton says it is owed about ninety million dollars, and Nanking is understood to admit half that amount. But the Canton Government has for years been officially smuggling, and is reported to have deprived Nanking of fifty million dollars of customs

revenue, regarded by Nanking as ample to square Canton's loss on the other account. The profit from smuggling has disappeared, however, and the province has not been reimbursed for its original outlay. Chen Chi-tang has been kept quiet for years by a substantial subsidy from Nanking, while Nanking has silently acquiesced in the smuggling and has considered it expedient to leave Chen Chi-tang in control as an offset against the anti-Nanking policy of the South-West Council and the Kwangsi leaders. It was a surprise, therefore, that Chen Chi-tang should associate himself with the Kwangsi leaders in a break-away from Nanking. The explanation in part, no doubt, is that he could not come to terms with Nanking without disclosing the financial mess in the province, and had either to join the fantastic anti-Japanese adventure or lose a position in which the irregular pickings were immense.

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"The Nanking agents have examined the Kwangtung finances and stated that the bank-note issue is 250 million dollars, of which "30 million dollars have been secretly taken away by the former provincial authorities." Specie reserves are 107 million dollars of silver coins, or 43 per cent of the paper issue. The only additional security is said to be 92 million dollars of treasury notes, at present 'practically worthless.' The present Kwangtung dollar note, therefore, is now worth less than half the new legal tender notes of the Government, which means that the province has been mulcted of a very great sum of money as well as rendered virtually bankrupt by a long period of misgovernment. Kwangsi, on the other hand, has been well ruled and every effort has been made to develop the resources of the province and to ensure security and a better standard of living for the people.

The leaders have spent a good deal of provincial money in the upkeep of the army and in the training of a large body of militia. They are open to criticism for so doing, and for defying the Central Government at a highly critical time, simply because they have personal grievances against the Generalissimo, and imagine themselves, as do many others, better qualified to formulate a foreign policy. But it is the fact that they served the Kwo-mintang effectively during the second revolution and impressed the public by their efficiency and general sincerity.

“Negotiations are proceeding for amicable settlement, and it is much to be hoped that an arrangement will be made by which the services of the Kwangsi leaders will not be lost to the country except perhaps for a brief interval. If agreement is not reached the Government is committed to attack, and in

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that case has the prospect of a long guerrilla conflict in which the Kwangsi forces, operating in their own mountainous country, will be hard to suppress. Few in China believe that the situation will be allowed to develop so unfortunately, and Chiang Kai-Shek is certainly doing everything possible to induce a peaceful outcome.

"Japan is frequently stated to have been behind all the above developments above described, with a view to promoting disunion in the country. It is true⁵ that the adroit Colonel Doihara recently visited the two Kwangs and doubtless said things that might have been left² unsaid, as many schemers before him have done. It is also true that both Kwangtung and Kwangsi employed Japanese military instructors and made large purchases of armaments from Japan, some of which were delivered to the

buyers after the anti-Japanese expedition was launched. The Japanese made no secret about the selling of arms and laughingly declare that that is all they have done to sow dissension between Nanking and the South West.

“Nationals of other powers, including those of Great Britain, have also supplied military or naval equipment to the same parties, with no more sinister purpose than to make commercial profit. So far as appears on surface there is no reason to suppose that the outburst of the two Kwangs was anything but a purely domestic affair.”

Part VII

THE JAPANESE IN SHANGHAI

I WOULD here point out that what is called the "International Settlement" in Shanghai possesses two public parks, but one of them, Hongkew, on the northern boundary, is rapidly becoming practically a Japanese preserve. Outside is the new concrete fortress which serves as a barracks for Japanese troops, and inside, these troops are drilling and manœuvring from early morning until noon at least, often to the great inconvenience of other users of the park. They overrun the whole of its wide extent with their eternal open-order practices; and the constant barking of words of command turns what should be a quiet pleasance into a parade-ground.

Not perhaps that this worries the majority of its frequenters nowadays. These become increasingly Japanese in nationality. Serpen-

tines of Japanese school children parade round its paths, and parties of them monopolize the cinder-track and jumping pit. One section has been converted into a baseball ground with a stand for the benefit of the local Japanese athletic association. Family parties stroll over the grass,—father and little Jiro San in front, and mother with the latest arrival on the back, a pace or two in the rear. Japanese would-be artists plant themselves down on their camp stools to execute their customary, highly-coloured daubs, and the fishermen on the banks of the two small lakes are mostly Japanese.

This is symptomatic of what is happening in the Hongkew district as a whole. This portion of the settlement has in recent years become practically a Japanese enclave, with the Japanese claiming and asserting special rights therein. The vast majority of

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the 30,000 local Japanese have settled in Shanghai, and these have made it into what is, to all intents and purposes, a Japanese city in miniature; so much so, indeed, that its local surname is "Little Tokyo." There are whole streets lined with Japanese shops displaying Japanese goods. Everywhere are Japanese advertisements. The *obi* and *kimono* are as common as the Chinese gown, and the Japanese language is as frequently heard as Chinese or English. The houses, it is true, are foreign in style, but they are floored with "*tatami*" and furnished with Japanese furniture. There are Japanese restaurants and food shops where Japanese food is to be obtained. One section of the city's main market, situated nearby, is given over entirely to Japanese stall-holders. There are Japanese cinemas displaying Japanese films, and the four thousand children attend one or the other of the seven schools maintained by the Japanese

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community where they receive the same education as they would in their home country.

The Japanese community is very thoroughly and properly organized. Every householder has to be a member of the Japanese Residents Corporation, to which he pays what amounts to taxes on his land and property. Amusement resorts, such as cafes, cinemas, tea gardens, and beer halls, in addition to obtaining licenses from the Municipal Council, have to pay license fees to their local national authorities. Recalcitrant individuals are brought into line by recourse to the Japanese consular court. The executive head of the Residents Corporation is a president elected for four years, and there is a General Council of forty, elected for two years by the 5,000 members. The Corporation, which receives and spends nearly 800,000 dollars a year, maintains the schools, a clinic, a crematorium,

its own fire stations, and undertakes public works for the benefit of the Japanese community. It also decides who shall be the Japanese candidates for the Municipal Council, lays down their policy, and instructs the 800 of its members, who happen also to be Municipal electors, how to vote so as to secure their election. The Japanese vote at Municipal elections is most carefully organized and disciplined. The individual voter may be, in theory, free and independent; in practice, if he is a Japanese, he does as his leaders tell him.

The Corporation is the normal mouthpiece of the Japanese community, but recently it has abdicated more often than not in favour of another body—the Amalgamated Association of Japanese Streets Union. The streets union, is, as its name implies, an association of neighbours for common purposes. Originally these were mainly social; the stress

now is on politics. When the Japanese wish to speak as a body on questions of a political or semi-political nature, when they wish to approach any of the local governing bodies to conduct negotiations with the utility companies, or to pass public resolutions, it is through the Streets Unions Association that they usually do so today. The semi-official character of the Residents Corporation might lead to diplomatic embarrassments, if it were made the body of protest or negotiation.

The Japanese, enjoying extra territorial rights, are subject to the Japanese consular court, which maintains a small body of gendarmerie to enforce its decisions. At the same time Hongkew is constantly patrolled by pickets of Japanese mariners and the Japanese military are ready to turn out at a moment's notice to "assist" the Settlement police in the task of maintaining order. Indeed, but for

the presence of Japanese mariners and troops it would not be safe for any foreigner to remain in parts of Shanghai for twenty-four hours. A Chinese boy on the roof of a house throws a stone at a cat, and the stone accidentally rebounds off a wall and drops on the shoulder of a Japanese marine, and immediately the Japanese military are on the spot, a foreign police inspector has to be summoned, and what may appear as an utterly trivial occurrence is sometimes magnified out of all proportion by this military interference in the management of the district. This often causes friction between the Chinese and the Japanese. At frequent intervals, too, the Japanese parade their troops through the streets, on one occasion practically "occupying" the area for the purpose of their manœuvres. Hong-kew, in fact, is almost a state within a state, with its own taxation, soldiery, police, and system of government.

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Of the fifty different nationalities which go to make the foreign population of the International Settlement, the Japanese alone have so definitely and thoroughly organized themselves as a separate entity apart from, and almost at times in opposition to, all the others. It is a development which goes altogether contrary to the international conception of the Settlement, and threatens to break up the spirit of international co-operation which has so far distinguished its administration. The nationals of other nations, in particular the British and Americans, are already being driven to organize themselves also on national lines, and national considerations and prejudices are beginning to enter municipal elections and to threaten the harmonious conduct of municipal affairs.

The size of the Japanese community and the value and importance of its trading inter-

ests entitle it to a share in the Settlement's administration. No one grudges them that share, but the deliberate organization of the community along its present lines, and the manner in which Hongkew is being converted into a general area where the Japanese military claim equal authority with the municipal council, is not considered a healthy portent for the future. The attitude of the Japanese to certain major local problems of recent years has not been encouraging. Their demands have blocked a satisfactory settlement of the vexatious question of jurisdiction on the "outside roads"—it is an open secret that it is Japanese, not British or American, opposition which has led to the necessary consular approval being refused to the agreement upon factory inspection in the settlement recently concluded between the municipal council and the Chinese authorities.

Without subscribing to the theory held in many quarters that all this is part of a Japanese scheme to get Shanghai into her grip as a prelude to domination of the Yangtse Valley, one is bound to regard the development of the large, compact, localized, and highly organized Japanese community with considerable misgiving. Local British and American sentiment has come to recognize that rendition must come, though it would not welcome it just now, and is prepared to co-operate when it does. There is unfortunately no sign of any similar disposition on the part of the Japanese. For the Chinese the matter must be a matter of particular concern. The nationalization of "Little Tokyo" not only defers rendition, but also seems to indicate that there will remain, when the settlement is handed over, a solid core of organized, racial selfishness to

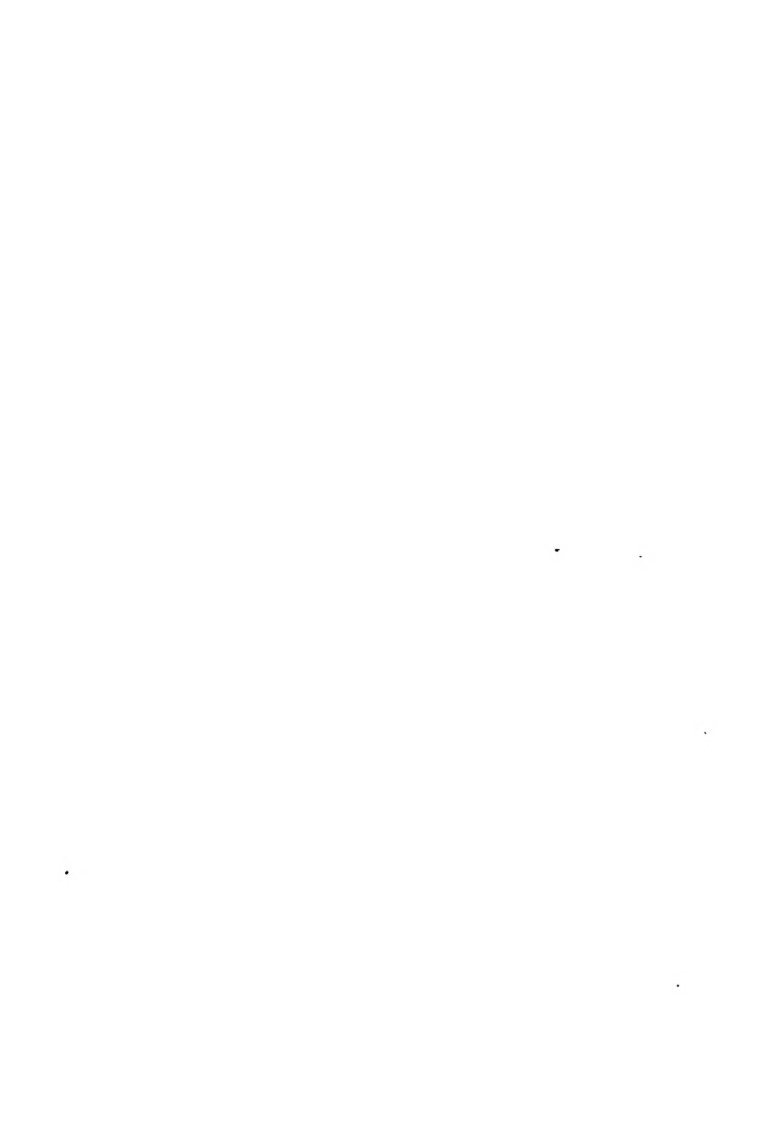
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embarrass the local authorities and obstruct the smooth and successful working of the new *regime*.

It should, I feel, be strongly emphasized that the Japanese Government has been compelled to resort to all forms of military and naval measures by way of protection, both against China and Russia, during the last twenty-five years that China has been in a state of chaos, ever since the revolution of 1911. It must not be forgotten that anarchy and disorder encouraged by Soviet Russia have reigned supreme for over a decade in China. Japan, like Germany, fears "Red anarchy" and is determined to suppress it by all means in her power.



JAPAN'S GREATEST PROBLEM



CHAPTER IX

JAPAN'S GREATEST PROBLEM

FIGHT FOR TRADE

During my visit to Japan, and as a result of prolonged discussions with trade magnets and high officials in that country, I found that Japan today is fighting a desperate battle to maintain her place which she has won in the world's industrial and commercial sun after half a century of effort. I might mention two recent developments: (1) the outbreak of a formal "Trade War" with Australia, and (2) the very marked slowing¹ up in Japan's export figures. These indicate very clearly that an exceedingly hard struggle will be necessary to retain the striking gains which "Made in Japan" products have been registering on foreign markets in recent years.

It must never be forgotten that foreign trade is a most important branch of Japan's economy. The Great Island Empire may be said to be completely, or at any rate very largely, deficient in some of the basic raw materials on which its industrial life is based, and which are indispensable from the standpoint of national defence—a consideration, as all my readers will at once realize, which cannot, and is never, overlooked in Japan. Among these raw materials must be mentioned cotton, wool, rubber and oil. Inasmuch as Japan's receipts from such sources as overseas investments and shipping are limited, the chief means of paying for essential imports obviously is with exports. Moreover, intense industrialization with its attendant expansion of the shipping, transportive, and distributive services, has seemed to represent the most hopeful solution of Japan's very difficult problem of population which, as I hope to show in succeeding chapters,

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becomes more serious every year, with the annual increment of one million, with the rural districts enormously congested to the last degree, and with slight possibilities of emigration.

The immediate cause of the recent outbreak of the "Trade War" between Japan and Australia was the very short-sighted action of the latter government in sharply raising its customs duties on "non-British" goods. I personally found during my investigation that with the new regulations Japanese rayon goods and cotton textiles were subjected to heavy and very unfair levies which, in the opinion of all Japanese exporters, are indeed prohibitive. Moreover, a licensing system, not imposed in the case of British goods, has been introduced for a large number of commodities which Japan sells, or had been selling to Australia. The Japanese reply to

these Australian measures was to invoke the so-called Trade Protection Act, which is framed with a view of economic reprisals. Henceforward licenses will be required from all importers of Australian goods, while a supplementary duty of 50 per cent will be levied on such Australian products as are purchased. Japan, I might assure my readers, considers herself in a particularly strong economic position in relation to Australia, because the balance of trade between the two countries is heavily in Australia's favour. For example, the Japanese purchases in Australia in 1935 were valued at about 235,000,000 yen, (approximately 13,500,000 pounds sterling) while sales to Australia amounted to only 75,000 yen. Thus it is seen that three per cent of Japan's exports go to Australia, nine per cent of Australia's to Japan.

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I must mention here that the main item in the trade between the two countries is Australia's wool, of which Japan normally takes about 30 per cent. One of the measures which Japan is reckoning as a means of pressure on the Australian Government to modify or rescind its tariff measures, is substantial curtailment in the purchase of wool. It is realized throughout Japan that Australian wool cannot be dispensed with altogether, but it is hoped that the amount of this import may be reduced by at least one third or probably two thirds.

One interesting question which I must point out arising in this connection is whether a country like Australia or Japan will suffer more from an interruption of the wool trade. Japan, I find, has a very flourishing and growing woollen industry. Alternative sources of wool supply, such as South Africa and North

America, are much more expensive. Two suggestions were impressed upon me during my discussions with Japanese officials and industrialists; (1) that sheep-breeding should be expanded in Japan and Manchukuo, and (2) that staple fibres should be utilized as a substitute for wool. I ought to point out that Japan at the present time is virtually a sheepless country. The extremely close settlement on the land, and the presence on the Japanese hillside of bamboo grass, which is very hard to eradicate and cuts the sheep's tongues, makes it highly improbable that any great supply of wool can ever be raised at home. The Mongolian provinces of Manchukuo are natural pastures for sheep and cattle. But the Mongols have developed a shaggy type of sheep, the wool of which is of little value for industrial purposes; and efforts to change the breed have thus far met with very little success. And whether staple fibre will be as

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satisfactory a substitute for wool as rayon has been for silk, as far as I can see, remains, and will for some time remain, an open question.

The Americans have also taken action in order to penalize Japan. As I have pointed out, defensive measures have been taken against Australia. But Australia is far from being the only country which is imposing restrictions on imports of Japanese goods. The Australian action curiously enough occurred simultaneously with the announcement of 42 per cent increase in the American tariff on Japanese textiles. My friend, Mr. Otokichi, President of the Japan's Spinner' Association, and a most prominent textile industrialist, recently published the results of a survey which his distinguished Association undertook, of the restrictive measures which are now in force in various parts of the world against Japanese cotton cloth. The survey revealed

restrictions of the most varied kinds, quotas, special tariffs, duties to compensate for the depreciated Japanese exchange in lands as far removed as Haiti and the Dutch East Indies, South Africa and Ecuador. It is estimated that of some ninety markets in the world more than sixty have imposed some special restriction on Japanese textiles. The Japanese people, therefore, are naturally of the opinion that the whole world is against them in the matter of world markets for their goods.

I would emphasize here that these restrictions are bearing fruit, and it was pointed out to me that Japan's sales of textiles in foreign markets declined by 25,000,000 yen during the last six months of 1935. Exports valued at 1,263,000,000 yen showed a gain of only 3.4 per cent, over the first half of 1935, while imports at 1,578,000,000 yen increased by 11.5 per cent. The gain for the first half of

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1935, by comparison with the first six months of 1934, was 17.2 per cent. The distinct retardation of the pace of Japan's exports, which more than doubled in yen value between 1931 and 1935, has elicited several interesting reactions.

It has, for example, stimulated the desire of Government departments, especially of the Commercial Bureau attached to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to place Japan's economic relations with the outside world on a more stable basis by concluding trade agreements with countries like India, which exclude the possibility of sudden tariff rises, and quota impositions. At the same time foreign trade barriers are stimulating a great desire for self sufficiency, for the creation of a close Japan-Manchukuo economic bloc. I would expressly mention that the Japanese Navy is especially anxious to promote plans for the extraction of

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oil from coal, of which there is a superfluous amount in Manchukuo. The chief visible obstacle, as far as I could see, to the economic bloc with Manchukuo as a solution for Japan's economic difficulties, is that the purchasing power of that country is far too low to allow it to absorb permanently a very large share of Japan's exports. Trade restrictions also stimulate imperialist economies in Japan, as it is contended that Great Britain and other states employ political power and influence to exclude or restrict Japanese wares which would win their way on their economic merits. If the British Empire is proved to place obstacles in the way of Japanese trade expansion, the world's peace may be said to be endangered in the Far East and elsewhere. There is obvious danger in the state of mind which the dissemination of that doctrine produces.

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The true remedy lies in the removal of restrictions to trade as between one country and another, for tariff wars will ultimately lead to international wars. Unless statesmen of the world come to some speedy understanding with one another in this matter of world markets, there can be no stability in the East and the West, and fear and hatred breed war.

JAPANESE POPULATION PROBLEM AND WORLD TRADE

CHAPTER X

JAPANESE POPULATION PROBLEM AND WORLD TRADE

(1)

Just before the adjournment of the Fifth Biennial Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations held at Banff, Canada, August 14-26, 1933, the chairman gave a radio address, closing with the following words :

"The final conclusion which one may draw from the discussions of the Banff Conference is that the only alternative to war in a world where natural resources, capacities and needs differ widely as between different countries, is that the flow of trade is indispensable; that self-sufficiency for every country is a mathematical impossibility; and that whether by governmental agreement or by private agreement an equitable distribution of opportunities to labour, to trade, and to render services must somehow be arrived at on the principle to live and let live."

The Japanese population problem occupied a prominent part in the discussions which

led to this conclusion. It is not a new problem to which the attention of the Institute was called. The second Conference, held at Honolulu in 1927, devoted a Round Table to the subject, and those who took part in the discussion generally agreed that the Japanese people would be "the first to face the issue between food supply and population in all its stark severity." They say: "With the industrial development of the country her population has doubled within the last sixty years. The standard of living has risen at the same time. But, her natural resources being very limited, Japan seems to have arrived at a saturation point in regard to population." "Here lies the most vital question of the present-day Japan in its most rudimentary form. Social unrest which has come to play such an important role in Japan is mainly due to this disparity between population and gainful employment. The reaction

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on foreign policy is less evident, but just as real." (Problems of the Pacific Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations).

Now, it seems that the same people are concerned with the reaction it may cause on the international affairs of the Pacific. One of the prominent members of the Banff Conference expressed the opinion of himself and his friends to the effect that, "if every country were to consider that it ought, within its own political boundaries, to produce all things it used, then a country like Japan would be obliged to become aggressive, and the world would have to look forward to an era of imperialism and war. We know quite well that we must guard ourselves against scares caused by an exaggerated notion of international tension, but cannot deny that excessive, economic nationalism on the part of those

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nations well endowed with the gifts of nature is liable to create a dangerous situation in less fortunate countries."

(2)

To abolish trade barriers is a universal necessity. No nation can be an exception. But in some countries this necessity is far more pressing than in others; among such countries is Japan which is confronted by one of the most pressing population problems of any country in the world.

According to the last census, Japan has a population of 64 millions. If we add to this Korea and Formosa, the figure rises to 90 millions. The natural resources on which this multitude has to depend are, on the other hand, very scanty. For example, although Japan is still, on the whole, an agricultural country and half of her population derives its



Factory Workers in Japan

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means of subsistence from cultivating the soil, her arable land is the lowest per capita among the nations of the world and reaches only 0.096 hectares, while even in Great Britain which is not an agricultural country 0.116 hectares are allotted, and countries whose conditions resemble those of Japan, such as France or Italy, hold 0.3-0.5 hectares per capita, not to mention Australia or the United States. Japan's share in the mineral resources is also, next to Italy, the smallest in the world. Her iron deposits are only 1.4 ton per capita and her coal deposits are only 126 tons per capita, in contrast to Great Britain's 135 tons of iron, and 4,296 tons of coal per capita; or to the United States' 87 tons of iron and 22,796 tons of coal per capita. It is because of this inequality between the population and resources that the Japanese population problem presents itself as particularly serious and difficult.

RESOURCES OF VARIOUS COUNTRIES COMPARED

Countries	Population in 1929	Arable land in 1929		Reserved in tons per capita	
		Hectares per capita	Per cent of total area	Coal	Iron ore (visible)
Japan ...	R. 1-10-29	0.096	15.8	126	1.4
Great Britain ...	E. 80- 6-29	0.116	22.6	4,296	195
France ...	E. 31-12-29	0.543	41.2	795	200
Germany ...	E. 20- 6-29	0.318	43.9	9,857	21
Italy ...	E. 31-12-26	0.330	44.2	6	0.2
Poland ...	E. 1- 1-30	0.590	46.7	9,379	...
China ...	E. 31-12-28	0.246	14.1	1,000	2.6
British India ...	R. 18- 3-21	0.393	46.4	235	10
Australia ...	E. 31-12-29	1.847	1.5	28,000	164
New Zealand ...	E. 31-12-29	0.631	2.9	2,511	52
Union of South Africa ...	E. 30- 6-29	0.479	3.1	7,464	405
United States ...	R. 1- 4-30	1.173	18.4	22,796	87
Canada ...	E. 1- 6-29	2.537	2.7	71,050	458

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Since the restoration of Meiji in 1868, which meant transition from feudalism to capitalism, Japan has made remarkable progress, rare in world history, from the spiritual as well as from the material point of view. As, according to the first official census, the population in 1872 was 33 millions as compared to 64 millions in 1930, we see that the same area has come to support just twice the population in half a century. And in spite of this population increase the general standard of living has not only shown downward movement but a considerable advance upwards until the close of the World War. (See H. G. Moulton: "Japan, an Economic and Financial Appraisal.")

GROWTH OF THE JAPANESE POPULATION

(In thousands)

Years	...	...	...	Meiji 5	Total (Registered)	Decennial Increase	Percentage of Increase
1872	...	...	...	Meiji 5	39,111	...	...
1880	...	...	...	"	35,929	* 2,818	* 8.5
1890	...	...	...	"	40,453	4,524	12.6
1900	...	...	...	"	44,826	4,372	10.8
1910	...	...	...	"	50,985	6,159	13.7
1920	Taisho 9	57,919	6,934	13.6
					Census	55,963	...
1930	Showa 5	64,450	8,497	15.2

* Increase in 8 years.

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But now Japan is facing a different condition. Since the World War Japan seems to have entered upon a new stage of development. After the tremendous expansion during the war boom, symptoms of stagnation have become apparent. The people are making vain efforts to maintain the standard of living they created during the period of prosperity. It is quite clear that the world depression has had much to do in bringing about this situation, but the fundamental cause of the present unrest lies deeper than any transient economic disturbance. It is, we are convinced, the utter lack of balance between population and resources.

Malthus states that if population increased beyond the supply of food, misery and vice would work as reducing factors on population and keep it down to the level of the means of subsistence, and this he considered a natural

law. But we cannot expect that civilized peoples of today will submit so blindly to this so-called law of natural check as Malthus believed in the beginning of the nineteenth century. They will not wait passively till such evils come, regarding them as inevitable. They will rather choose to express positively their dissatisfaction in some form or other. They know the power of organization and rapid communication, and they will not hesitate to use such facilities to change what they consider intolerable conditions, although such action may end by defeating their own purposes. The inequilibrium between population and resources in a country is, therefore, not only the source of internal unrest, but also of external uneasiness. Many people including competent demographers are of the opinion that Japan's population problem must be treated not as a mere domestic question but as a world problem, which can be solved only by

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the co-operation of other countries as well as through the efforts of Japan herself.

3

The Honolulu Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations discussed four remedies for coping with the Japanese population problem: (1) those connected with the reorganization of the internal economic system; (2) those which depend upon an expansion of export industries; (3) those which relate to emigration; and (4) those which aim at slowing down the present increase in population either by birth control or by social development having the same tendency; but the conclusion reached was rather pessimistic as to the efficiency of any of these remedies.

“While internal economic reorganization may solve problems of unemployment which occur as a result of defects in the economic order causing periodical cycles of depression,

it is hardly adequate to cope with chronic under-employment arising from scanty resources.

“The expansion of Japanese export industries is more hopeful as a line of solution, but there are grave difficulties in the way of securing the necessary raw material and markets. The trend of world economy is not as clearly towards international specialization and co-operation as it appeared to be in the middle of the nineteenth century. The example of Great Britain's dependence upon a world-market is not regarded by Japanese economists and business men as particularly reassuring. Japan is poor in raw materials, especially in certain basic minerals. For the extension of her industrialization she must depend also upon comparatively free access to world markets. In almost every direction the existence of tariff barriers hems in her expanding industry. If China begins to develop her

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own manufacturing industries at all rapidly, and particularly if she should bar access to her raw materials and place protective barriers around her developing industries, Japan's economic position will become quite precarious.

"Emigration might conceivably ease the population problem temporarily, if restrictive legislation did not bar the way in almost every direction. But the emigration of a million people annually is technically impossible. If the whole world were free to Japanese migrants, it is doubtful whether a number equal to 10 per cent of the annual increase in the population would emigrate. Moreover, historical experience does not support the contention that emigration can permanently relieve over-population.

"The last group of suggested remedies consists of those which aim at controlling the

numbers of the population to accord with available resources. The practice of various forms of birth control is only one among several possible methods of achieving such control. Direct methods of contraception give rise to much-debated moral and religious problems which are of special importance in a country like Japan, where the family unity counts for more than it does in Western lands. From the purely scientific or eugenic point of view also, the exercise of birth control is often regarded as questionable because of the tendency it has to limit the offspring of the most socially developed sections of the population. Moreover, birth control at best must lag a generation behind the actual problem which is urgent today."—*Problems of the Pacific, Proceedings of the Second Conference.*

It is improbable that the family system of Japan will prove an insurmountable obstacle

to the diffusion of birth control. It is even probable that the knowledge will be increasingly spread among the people generally. But the defect of the remedy lies in the fact that it cannot relieve the pressure of numbers in the immediate future, while the child population at present is so large that we have to expect during the coming decades a considerable increase in the adult population for whom gainful employments must be provided.

(4)

There are among foreign observers those who deem the increase to be infinite, as the Japanese have a birthrate which might be characterized as "Oriental"; and yet they master occidental hygienics to reduce their deaths to the "occidental" level. Similar opinions are also popular among the Japanese students of the problem, who argue

as if the present ratio of births and deaths to population would continue indefinitely. According to such an estimate, for example, the population is to reach 74 millions in 1937, 85 millions in 1947, 98 millions in 1957, and 113 millions in 1967. But this is an assumption which does not take into account the fact that the mushroom growth of the Japanese population is a phenomenon which appeared at the same time with the industrial revolution of the Meiji Restoration, and does not differ in any particular from similar increases in Europe and America during the nineteenth century. We must remember that there were periods in which England, Germany, and other countries showed a birth rate not lower—it might be said rather higher—than that of Japan,—35 births or more per thousand of the gross population. It has only been since the beginning of the twentieth century that their birth rates have fallen to the present

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level and evinced definitely a tendency to become stationary. For it is observable that when man's standard of living becomes high, he endeavours to decrease his birth rate by means of birth control, postponement of marriage, and other means in his effort to maintain his high level. So it is altogether probable that there will be such a period in Japan; and this expectation seems to be in conformity with the actual trend, for we hear from an investigation newly made by Professor Teijiro Uyeda, who participated in the Banff Conference, that the Japanese population has now reached the maximum rate of increase and that the future increase will be greatly reduced.

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BIRTHS AND DEATHS OF THE
JAPANESE POPULATION

	Births		Deaths	
	In thous- ands	Per thousand of the gross population	In thous- ands	Per thousand of the gross population
Years				
1900 ...	1,387	31.7	911	20.3
1905 ...	1,453	30.5	1,005	21.1
1910 ...	1,713	33.9	1,064	21.1
1915 ...	1,799	33.1	1,094	20.1
1920 ...	2,026	36.2	1,422	25.4
1925 ...	2,086	34.9	1,211	20.3
1930 ...	2,085	32.4	1,171	18.2

The annual number of births in Japan at present stands at about 2,100,000, and since 1920 there has been only a very gradual increase. The number of women at the reproductive age between fifteen and forty-four has, on the other hand, shown a marked

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increase. This rapid increase of women at the reproductive age is due to the rise of the birth rate two or three decades ago. The fact that the number of children born has been nearly stationary while those who were at the age to bear them increased, indicates that the Japanese women have become less fertile during these years. Moreover, this downward tendency in the fertility is not a new phenomenon. It began before the War, and was again noticeable in the years following. We can, therefore, expect in this kind of rough estimate that this tendency will continue in the future and that the increase in the number of births will be so slight, as to allow us to assume that the present level of births will be maintained in the future—at least for two or three decades—an assumption which means that if there is no change in the rate of deaths, the population will come to be fixed according to age groups, under twenty years old twenty

years hence, and under thirty years old thirty years hence.

(5)

Professor Uyeda's investigation gives an estimate of the future population of Japan, following this assumption. It adopts as its basis the theory that the death rate will be constant at a rate computed from the census of 1925 and 1930, and that the number of births per annum will be 2,100,000. The results are as shown in Schedule "A."

We have also available, figure for years later than 1950, calculated on the same basis of 2,100,000 births annually, but we need not quote them here, for the number of women at the reproductive age will become stationary after 1955, and the number of births will decrease because of the decline in the fertility. Roughly speaking, it seems probable that the

SCHEDULE "A"

ESTIMATE OF THE FUTURE POPULATION

(in thousands)

Years	Age group 0-14		Age group 15-59		Age group 60 & over		Total population		Quinquennial increase	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1920 ...	20,416	36.5	30,949	55.3	4,594	8.2	55,959	100.0	...	...
1925 ...	21,924	36.7	33,223	55.6	4,589	7.7	59,736	100.0	3,773	6.74
1930 ...	23,502	36.7	35,827	55.9	4,797	7.9	64,067	100.0	4,331	7.25
1935 ...	25,057	36.7	37,980	56.8	5,068	7.4	68,106	100.0	4,040	6.30
1940 ...	26,795	35.9	40,399	56.3	5,652	7.8	71,846	100.0	3,740	5.49
1945 ...	28,624	34.8	43,906	57.5	6,130	8.1	75,201	100.0	3,417	4.75
1950 ...	25,821	32.9	45,968	58.6	6,508	8.8	78,355	100.0	3,097	4.11

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population of Japan will reach its maximum in about 1970, at a point a little exceeding 80,000,000, and that after that it will remain comparatively stationary, the total increase for the future being not more than 15 to 16 millions.

The fact that the death rate is computed to be stationary may require some explanation. For to assume a fixed rate of mortality may appear too daring in the case of children under five years of age. Our infant mortality has declined very markedly in recent years, as will be illustrated by the fact that the number of children under five years old was nearly 800,000 more in 1830 than in 1925, i.e., 9,044,000 in 1930 against 8,264,000 in 1925, though the number of births stood almost at the same point in 1926-30 as in 1921-25. Japan is now being transformed from a country with numerous births and fewer deaths. So

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it is not deniable that the estimate of the future child population is but a rough estimate, although it is not thoroughly unreliable. But it can be proved that even though the infant

DECLINE IN THE INFANT MORTALITY UNDER ONE YEAR OF AGE

Years	Births in thousands	Deaths in thousands under one year of age	Number of deaths per 100 births
1921	... 1,996	335	16.4
1922	... 1,969	327	16.6
1923	... 2,043	333	16.3
1924	... 1,998	312	15.5
1925	... 2,086	297	14.2
1926	... 2,104	289	13.7
1927	... 2,060	292	14.2
1928	... 2,135	293	13.8
1929	... 2,077	295	14.2
1930	... 2,085	258	12.4
1931	... 2,102	277	13.2
			399

mortality diminishes, there will be a little difference in the actual increase in population. And this is the reason why the death rate is computed to be stationary.

As regards the population belonging to higher age groups, we can see from the above estimate fairly accurately how many are to survive from the present population ten years hence, or twenty years hence, since there is not much possibility of variation in their death rate. We can see above all how rapidly the working population, which consists generally of people from fifteen to fifty-nine years of age, is to augment in the future, owing to the circumstance that there was a substantial increase in the number of births until ten years ago. The portion which children now occupy in the age composition of our nation is comparatively large, and therefore the working population will not cease to expand rapidly

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before all these children grow up. The estimate presents an aggregate of 10,000,000 as the sum total of the increase in the working age group during the next twenty years. This can be regarded as a fairly reliable estimate, provided nothing unexpected happens to disturb materially the uniform increase, such as the influenza epidemic in 1918-19.

INCREASE OF THE WORKING POPULATION

Years	Population from 15 to 59	Quinquennial increase	Percentage of Quinquennial increase	Percentage of the Quinquennial increase of the total population
1920 ...	30,949	...	...	...
1925 ...	33,223	2,274	7.34	6.74
1930 ...	35,827	2,604	7.83	7.25
1935 ...	37,980	2,153	6.00	6.30
1940 ...	40,399	2,419	7.83	5.49
1945 ...	43,306	2,907	7.19	4.75
1950 ...	45,963	2,657	6.13	4.11
Total increase since 1930, 10,136.				

The important point in the Japanese population problem, therefore, is not the infinitude of growth, but that the working population is to increase by 10,000,000 during the next two decades. So the measures for coping with this problem are consequently limited. Birth control is recommended by some foreign authorities (Thompson, Dennery, etc.) as the only way, or, as the best way, of solution; but since we have to do with people already born, it is clear that it is too late for our present purpose to diffuse the knowledge of birth control, though it may serve to lessen the burden upon the working population. We are bound to seek the solution from the standpoint of how these ten million people can be provided with employment.

There are three ways of meeting this difficulty,—the development of home industries, emigration, and the expansion of export indus-

tries. We may to some extent follow the first suggestion. M. Etienne Dennerly, a young French investigator in his "*Foules d'Asie*" goes so far as to hold that a comparatively large volume of population can be absorbed by an extensive use of the so-called "pluralistic management,"—a recently developed form of agriculture in Japan, in which stock-farming is included. However, a glance at the statistics which show the recent growth of the area of crop land and the number of domestic animals in Japan will convince any one that only a very small proportion of the ten millions for whom employment must be found can be absorbed by this or any other method of agriculture. Likewise it is clear that we cannot rely on other minor branches of home industry such as forestry or fishing, where there is even less scope for development than in agriculture. Even manufacturing industries aiming at domestic markets have no

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prospect of expansion sufficient to give accommodation to the excess of population increase since the domestic markets will be unable to expand on account of the depressed condition of agriculture. (*See Schedul- " B. "*)

As to emigration, the case has been put forward by a Japanese Export as follows:— It is not probable that more than 50,000 emigrants per annum can be sent out to all the places open to the Japanese, including Manchukuo. Though it was thought for some time that emigration to Manchukuo would serve Japan's population problem, and even now the idea has some popularity, serious students of the subject know that there are many obstacles in the way of sending large numbers of people there, and there seems little possibility of realizing the hopes of those who advocated extensive emigration to Manchukuo. Professor Thompson of Miami University in

SCHEDULE "B"

CROP LAND AND DOMESTIC ANIMALS IN JAPAN

Years	Crop land in thousands of hectares	Domestic animals in thousands			
		Cattle	Horses	Goats	Sheep Swine
1921 ...	6,048	1,440	1,530	142	9 500
1922 ...	6,040	1,459	1,576	161	11 612
1923 ...	6,989	1,469	1,592	159	15 668
1924 ...	6,015	1,456	1,569	168	16 743
1925 ...	6,017	1,460	1,553	168	17 678
1926 ...	6,030	1,465	1,486	179	18 631
1927 ...	6,028	1,474	1,494	196	19 677
1928 ...	6,036	1,484	1,494	208	19 764
1929 ...	5,849	1,488	1,490	215	21 706
1930 ...	5,867	1,498	1,490	217	24 742

the United States and Mr. Crocker of Oxford University in England suggest the possibility and advisability of emigration to South Pacific islands, and insist that Europe and America should open the doors of some of these islands to Japanese emigrants under certain conditions. (W. S. Thompson: "Danger Spot in World Population"; W. R. Crocker: "The Japanese Population Problem.") This is a welcome suggestion to use, and Japan would be most happy if tens of thousands of young people could emigrate to the larger islands of the South Pacific, not mainly from the economic, but from the psychological point of view, for such measures would undoubtedly relieve the discontent resulting from the pressure of overpopulation. But even if the whole world were free to Japanese emigrants, it would not solve her difficulty, for there is no doubt that the ten millions of workers for whom employment has to be found within the next two decades,

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would not all desire to find homes beyond the seas. It is clear, therefore, that emigration, even though it were on an extensive scale, cannot touch the heart of Japan's population problem.

EMIGRATION*

Years		Permitted abroad	Returned	Difference
1926	...	16,184	14,549	1,635
1927	...	18,041	14,735	3,306
1928	...	19,850	15,004	4,846
1929	...	25,704	14,073	11,631
1930	...	21,829	15,432	6,397
1931	...	10,384	12,965	2,581

* The statistics do not include the emigration to Manchuria and China proper. There is no adequate statistics to show its growth.

There is nothing for Japan to do, therefore, but to turn to the last solution, the expansion of export industries as the only method of

dealing with this difficult question. It is not possible to know exactly how many people are now deriving their means of livelihood, directly and indirectly, from trade with foreign countries and with her colonies, for no statistical attempt has ever been made to ascertain such facts regarding her foreign trade. But there is no doubt that more than 10 per cent of Japan's working population has some connection with her export industries. If then we can assume that the actual proportion of those engaged in export industries to the total working population is from 20 to 30 per cent, and accordingly that a number between 7,200,000 and 10,200,000 (the present working population being approximately 36,000,000) is now employed in connection with her foreign and colonial trade, we may roughly conclude that at least the greater part of the future increase in the working population can be absorbed, if she succeeds in enlarging

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her trade by from 50 to 100 per cent within the next twenty years. Such an expansion may at first glance seem too fantastic, but when we consider the strides Japan's trade has made in the past, it is by no means impossible of realization.

JAPAN'S FOREIGN TRADE (in thousands of yen)

Years		Exports	Imports
1870	...		
1880	...	14,543	33,742
1890	...	28,395	36,627
1900	...	56,604	81,729
1910	...	204,430	287,262
1920	...	458,429	464,234
1925	...	1,948,395	2,336,175
1930	...	2,305,590	2,572,658
1932	...	1,469,852	1,546,051
	...	1,409,992	1,431,461

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COMPOSITE QUANTITY INDICES OF JAPAN'S FOREIGN TRADE

Years		Exports	Imports	Total
1913	...	100.0	100.0	100.0
1914	...	97.2	83.6	90.4
1915	...	103.8	83.0	93.3
1916	...	120.1	92.1	106.1
1917	...	136.4	93.2	114.8
1918	...	138.2	109.8	124.1
1919	...	131.0	128.2	129.4
1920	...	105.1	119.2	112.2
1921	...	115.3	134.0	125.1
1922	...	144.5	170.0	157.3
1923	...	118.0	167.2	142.7
1924	...	154.8	185.1	170.0
1925	...	186.1	183.0	185.0
1926	...	191.5	206.2	198.9
1927	...	207.8	226.4	217.1
1928	...	212.0	216.1	214.1
1929	...	233.0	221.1	227.1
1930	...	195.3	189.4	192.4
1931	...	196.2	210.1	203.2
1932	...	219.5	216.5	218.0

JAPAN'S COLONIAL TRADE

(in thousands of yen)

Years	Exports to			Imports from		
	Korea (Chosen)	Formosa (Taiwan)	Total	Korea (Chosen)	Formosa (Taiwan)	Total
1901	...	8,782	8,782	...	7,346	7,346
1906	...	15,634	15,634	...	18,260	18,260
1911	...	34,058	67,798	13,341	51,044	64,984
1916	..	52,459	102,051	42,961	80,695	123,660
1921	...	166,483	250,004	197,393	128,897	326,290
1926	...	248,236	369,611	338,176	202,110	540,286
1931	...	217,770	332,534	240,027	201,424	450,451

(7)

We must not, however, forget that Japan is now facing an entirely new economic situation. The Great War left the world economy chaotic; and the apparent recovery since 1925 was but momentary and superficial. The dislocation of the economic structure together with the erroneous policies of nations seeking a quicker revival of their own industries gave rise to an unstable condition, which culminated in the world-wide crisis following the New York stock market crash in the autumn of 1929. The severity of the succeeding depression under which the world is now suffering is only too well-known. Most of the countries of the world have been obliged to go off the gold standard or adopt other measures such as foreign exchange control or quota system. Moreover, Great Britain was among these the first to succumb to the pressure of of the financial crisis, and even the United

States was unable to resist the terrific economic pressure. Thus international movement of capital almost ceased; vast quantities of unsalable goods accumulated in warehouses; production was curtailed to the lowest possible minimum; and above all international commodity trade shrank to one half or one third of the money value of what it was in the years before the crisis. Transformation from gold to paper being nothing more than the creation of closed standards, each distinct from the others, it is easy to comprehend how detrimental are its effects on international trade. There are also other factors exercising the same influence; namely, the tendency to extreme nationalism, which began in the post-war struggles of nations to re-establish themselves, and which brought with it ever-increasing tariff walls long before the economic crisis was in sight, doubled its strength in the depression. The Hawley-Smoot tariffs of the United

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States in 1930 and the Imperial preferential policy of the British Empire, inaugurated by the Ottawa Conference in 1932, may be counted among the principal causes of the alarming contraction in world trade.

Though Japan was able last year to gain an unexpected increase in export, partly because of the fall of the yen, this advantage was soon met by other nations with counter-measures such as the imposition of exchange dumping duties; and now Japan's trade is confronted with a precarious situation, for it is threatened in India, in Africa, in Australia and everywhere. The American policy may not cause us much uneasiness, so long as no increase is made in the duty on raw silk which comprises the greater part of her exports to that country, but the possible development of trade in minor exports is prohibited by the present tariffs. If there were no such tariffs in the United

States and similar ones on the side of Japan, we might expect an important development of division of labour between these two countries, as the one can supply standardized machineries and valuable raw materials such as petroleum, and the other can produce a large variety of manufactures which can be made by small scale industries. The same may apply to Canada, Australia and New Zealand. If those countries are ready to buy Japanese manufactures and the Japanese people can raise their standard of living, the country will become a highly profitable market for wheat and wool, of which rapidly expanding trade is already developing in recent years. This point will be especially important, if we consider the fact that the population of European and American countries is showing a tendency to become stationary, and has, accordingly, little hope of providing an expanding market for necessities of life such as wheat or wool. But

under the present situation, the hope that Japan may be able within the next twenty years to increase her export trade by from 50 to 100 per cent cannot be entertained even by the most optimistic.

As the country is comparatively poor in natural resources, Japan cannot rely solely upon them to maintain her export industries. It is necessary for her to import foods and raw materials from abroad, to work upon them, and to export them again in the form of finished goods. The countries surrounding her are chiefly agricultural, from which she can buy raw products of land and mines and to which she can sell manufactured articles. This is in accord with the true purpose of international division of labour. However, the general drift of the commercial policies of the nations of the world is directly opposed to this natural course; and the development along

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the nes of liberalism in trade is hampered by the tariffs, quotas, and other trade obstacles, which seem to be increasing day by day. It will be superfluous to mention here that such a tendency is in general not only injurious to exporting nations, but also very harmful to importing countries. But it must be emphasized that its effects on Japan are almost fatal. For if trade barriers continue to bar the way of her export and no scope is given to her industries for expansion, the Japanese do not know what will happen. There are serious students who regard the recent troubles in Manchuria as an outcome of the pressure of the Japanese population (e.g. Mr. Condliffe in the *Economic Journal*, June 1932). Whether the excessive protectionism of the present time will or will not give way to free trade, will not only decide the fate of Japan but will affect the healthy growth of the entire world.

NOTE:—The views and statistics contained in the foregoing chapter have been supplied to the author by the Director, Tokyo Association for Liberty of Trading.

**JAPAN'S FOREIGN TRADE
POLICY**



CHAPTER XI

JAPAN'S FOREIGN TRADE POLICY

(1)

Japan's foreign trade, measured according to a *quantity* index, has in recent years grown continuously, but its development was particularly marked after the re-imposition of the gold embargo in December 1931. Taking 1928 as the basis, the 1933 index number for exports was 138.1, for imports, 104.6, and for total trade, 120.5 (See Table 1).

The indices of the value of foreign trade, measured in yen, also showed a growth between 1931 and the first part of 1934. The 1931 index number of the value of exports was 58.2, and that of the imports 56.3 (1928 equals 100). The corresponding figures for 1933 rose to 94.4 and 87.3 respectively. The total figures

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were still 13 per cent below those of 1929, but the League of Nations statistics show that for most of the trading countries of the world the decline of trade during the same period was between 50 and 60 per cent (See Table 2).

We must not, of course, be led to an over-estimation of the position of Japan from these statistics, because the fall in the value of Japanese currency is much greater than that of other nations, and this circumstance makes the recent increase of her trade appear somewhat more valuable than it actually is. But it cannot be denied that Japan has of late enjoyed far better conditions in her foreign trade, especially in the export trade, than other nations, the quantity and value of whose trade has not been able to recover from the depressing effects of the world crisis.

(1) INDICES OF JAPAN'S FOREIGN TRADE

(Calculated by Yokohama Specie Bank)

Year and Season	Value			Quantity			Price		
	Export	Import	Total	Export	Import	Total	Export	Import	Total
1928	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	109.0	100.0
1929									
First half	107.8	110.2	109.1	108.0	111.7	110.0	99.9	98.7	99.2
Latter half	110.0	90.2	100.1	114.2	96.9	105.6	96.4	93.0	94.8
Whole year	103.0	100.9	101.7	111.2	104.8	107.8	98.0	96.2	97.1
1930									
First half	77.0	81.1	79.5	93.0	99.2	96.5	83.5	81.7	82.5
Latter half	71.7	58.0	64.9	111.4	83.7	97.6	61.4	69.3	66.3
Whole year	74.5	70.4	72.4	102.6	92.1	97.0	72.7	76.5	74.6
1931									
First half	61.2	58.6	59.7	105.6	103.1	104.1	57.9	56.8	57.8
Latter half	55.4	53.6	54.5	105.9	101.2	103.5	52.3	52.0	52.0
Whole year	58.2	56.3	57.2	105.8	102.2	103.9	56.0	55.1	55.0
1932									
First half	59.3	69.2	64.3	108.9	119.2	114.6	52.5	58.1	56.1
Latter half	83.6	60.5	72.1	139.7	79.6	109.8	59.9	76.0	65.7
Whole year	71.5	65.2	68.2	125.0	100.9	112.3	57.2	64.6	60.7
1933									
First half	88.0	86.2	87.0	130.8	105.4	116.7	67.3	81.8	74.0
Latter half	100.2	89.6	94.5	144.8	109.7	124.4	69.2	95.4	75.9
Whole year	94.4	87.3	90.6	138.1	104.6	120.5	68.9	93.4	75.2

(2) FOREIGN TRADE OF PRINCIPAL NATIONS

(Special trade)

	In millions	Exports		Imports	
		1929	1933 Percentage of decline	1929	1933 Percentage of decline
Japan	Yen	2,100.9	1,827.2 18.0	2,168.5	1,883.4 13.1
U. S. A.	\$	5,157.2	1,647.2 68.1	4,399.4	1,449.2 67.1
United Kingdom	£	729.4	307.4 49.6	1,111.1	626.8 43.6
Germany	RM	13,482.7	4,811.4 63.9	13,446.8	4,303.6 68.1
France	Franc	50,139.0	18,433.2 63.2	58,321.0	28,425.4 51.2
Canada	\$	1,182.3	511.4 56.7	1,299.0	401.3 69.1
British India	Rupee	3,225.4	1,444.8 55.2	2,502.8	1,147.4 54.2
Belgium	Franc	31,788.6	14,071.9 55.7	35,530.8	14,799.5 58.4
Italy	Lira	15,236.4	5,938.8 61.0	21,667.2	7,412.7 65.8
Netherlands	Gulden	1,989.5	725.7 63.5	2,752.3	1,309.2 56.1

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How, then, has Japan been able to increase the quantity of her exports by some 30 per cent and maintain the quantity of her imports? What was the primary cause of her expansion of exports during an unprecedented world depression? The most important factor was the depreciation of her currency.

Although the value of the yen in terms of foreign currencies is now 40 to 60 per cent lower than in 1931, in accordance with the currency chosen, the general levels of domestic wholesale and retail prices have risen only very slightly. This unusual state of affairs is due to the fact that many important commodities consumed by the Japanese people, including Japanese rice, matting, charcoal, etc., do not compete directly with foreign products in either domestic or overseas markets. A large part of their production costs remained on the former level, in spite of the drop in the

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exchange value of yen, and Japanese merchants could sell their goods abroad at comparatively low prices. The cost of living of the wage earners had not increased, and a stationary level of money earnings did not cause hardship. The direct result has been an abnormal expansion in the quantity and value of the export trade. While the quantity of imports remained fairly stationary, their composition changed, and their value increased owing to the heavy fall in the exchange.

On the other hand, there arose last year a cry from some European and American industrialists, who had been hit by the extension of Japanese exports, that Japan was systematically selling her goods at "unreasonably low" prices, and was guilty of "social dumping." Obviously, this latter term was meant to suggest that the cheap prices of the Japanese exports are the result of an unfair treatment.

of workers, and that, therefore, the governments of the various countries concerned should take some action against Japan, if they wish to protect their own workers from the competition of an inhumane industrial organization. This mistaken opinion is now gradually disappearing as a result of numerous attempts at truthful representation of the facts by better informed persons, such as the authors of the recent report of the international Labour Bureau at Geneva. There is, however, no space to examine fully the legitimacy of this complaint, but I can, as an introduction to the main part of this article, consider, in a general way, the question of wages in that country.

First, if the allegation of "social dumping" is based on the presumption that Japanese manufacturers are deliberately forcing down the level of wages for some unjustifiable reason,

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I can answer that this is not true. An enterprise or a branch of industry, under some special circumstances of monopoly, may be successful in forcing down the wages of its employees, but to carry through a deliberate cutting of wages on a national scale is impossible without such a nation-wide industrial dictatorship as exists, for example, in Soviet Russia. In actual fact, Japan's export industries are, on the whole, more flourishing than similar industries supplying home demand; and there is even a perceptible tendency for the wages paid in the export industries to be somewhat higher than those prevailing in other industries.

Further, if one alleges "social dumping" to exist simply because it is thought unfair that the level of wages in Japan should be far beneath some undefined international standard I must call attention to the fact that low

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wages do not necessarily mean a low cost of production. For, if low wages always coincided with a low cost of production, the countries with the lowest wages ought to have the lowest costs. In reality, however, we find that low wages generally coincide with a high cost of production and high wages with a low cost of production, for the level of wages depends largely on the efficiency of production. Thus, generally, in a country where wages are low the efficiency of workers is also low, whereas, high efficiency rules in a country where industries are developed and wages are on a high level. If, therefore, Japan's wages are lower than those paid in more advanced nations, but nevertheless her cost of production is low enough to compete with those of the advanced nations, it rather seems that her efficiency is high in spite of low wages, and that in this high efficiency is to be sought the root of her low cost of production, rather than in low

wages. Of course, it is not normal for industries which have attained a high level of efficiency, to continue to pay low wages, but if we examine the situation further, we shall find that the reason for Japan's low wages is attributable neither to the policies of her government nor to the unwillingness on the part of her capitalist class to raise wages. The truth is that her industries, in spite of their growing efficiency, are unable to expand sufficiently to absorb the surplus population of the countryside, and the pressure of this excess population is dragging down wages,—this is the principal reason why wages have not been able to rise to a higher level in Japan. In other words, it is the nature of her population problem that brings about the low wages.

If other nations bar the flow of Japanese goods and thus hamper her industrial expansion on the ground that her wages are too low,

they will not cause Japan to raise her wages and her standard of living. Such a policy would rather result in an intensification of the pressure of population and a further lowering of the Japanese level of wages and the standard of living. It would not solve but sharpen the problem of Japan's competition in the international market. The problem of so-called "social dumping" cannot be solved in this way. If other nations really wish to rise in the level of Japan's wages and living standards, they must first remove the barriers against her goods and allow Japan sufficient scope for further industrial expansion. This way alone leads to the real solution of the problem.

The following is the result of a survey of recent changes in the population of Japan and of its absorption into industry, which was recently carried out by Professor Teijiro

Uyeda of the Tokyo University of Commerce. I offer it as material illustrating the reasons, other than the depreciation of yen, why Japan is able to sell certain manufactures at cheaper prices than other industrial countries.

(2)

In considering the population problem, one is apt to have in view only total numbers and to pay little attention to the age composition of the people. This, however, is insufficient, for the population of a country does not increase or decrease uniformly at all ages. A growth, for example, will first become apparent through an increase of births and a few years later this will lead to a rapid increase in the child population ; but it will not be until these children have grown up that the adult population will show an increase. Also the measures for coping with the population problem must be different at different stages of the increase.

The policy needed in a period when the rate of births is increasing must necessarily differ from that suitable when the adult population is growing rapidly. In the former, birth control is an obvious solution, but in the latter the most urgent problem to be solved is that of employment. It must be noted, too, that the latter problem is particularly serious, since unemployed youths and adults will naturally wish to change an economic system in which they can take no active part, and will therefore be ready to listen to extreme political and social doctrines.

In present-day Japan, we find the birth rate still at a very high level (about thirty-three births per thousand to total population) as compared with that of the industrial nations of Europe and America, and the total population is increasing very rapidly. Nevertheless, the rate of births per thousand women

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of reproductive age is already decreasing at a fairly rapid pace, and the increase of population during the last decade was, in fact, due more to the decline in the death rate, mainly of infants, than to the increase in the number of births. Japan, which formerly had very high birth and death rates, is now experiencing a reduction in births and a greater reduction in deaths. Men are tending to marry later in life and have fewer children than previously. As the number of young couples at the most fertile age is still increasing, the declining tendency of the birth rate does not as yet show itself in a decline in the actual number of births. But we can probably conclude that the intensity of the population problem brought about by the increase of births is already lessening in Japan. The problem of the adult or working population is, however, quite different, for the full result of the enormous increase of births in the past is

now appearing in this class of population, which is increasing faster than the total population. During 1920-30, the working population increased by 15.7 per cent, or 4.9 millions, while the increase of total population was 14.5 per cent, or 8.1 millions. This rapid rate of increase in the working population is expected to continue for at least twenty years more, as there is still a large child population to grow up and succeed to the positions of their parents. The total increase of this class of population in the coming twenty years is estimated at about ten millions, and the average annual increase 0.5 million. This growth, if the figures are correct, will take place whether or not birth rates diminish hereafter. (See Table 3.)

It is clear, therefore, that the cardinal point of the population problem of present-day Japan does not lie in the mere increase of

(3) AGE COMPOSITION OF THE JAPANESE POPULATION

(In millions)

Year	Total population	Ages			Per cent of Total population in each age group			
		0.14 population	15-19 Working		60 and over	0.14	15.59	60 and over
			0.14 population	60 and over				
1920 (census)	...	56.0	20.14	30.9	4.6	36.5	55.8	8.2
1925 "	...	59.7	21.9	38.2	4.6	36.7	55.6	7.7
1930 "	...	64.1	23.5	35.8	4.7	36.7	55.9	7.9
1935 (estimate)	...	68.1	25.1	38.0	5.1	36.7	55.8	7.4
1940 "	...	71.8	25.8	40.4	5.7	35.9	56.3	7.8
1945 "	...	75.3	25.8	48.3	6.1	34.8	57.5	8.1
1950 "	...	78.4	25.8	46.0	6.6	32.9	58.6	8.3

population, but in the increase of adult population seeking employment. The number of children in the elementary schools (aged from six to eleven years) was, in 1920, 7.7 millions. By 1930, it had increased to 8.8 millions, and those leaving these schools annually to enter the labour market sooner or later, number more than 1.2 millions. Some of them proceed to the higher grade primary schools (which are outside the national compulsory educational scheme), or to the middle schools of various kinds; and some will advance to a technical college or university. These also will need employment when they have finished their course of education. Thus, the new seekers for employment outnumber the vacancies caused through retirement or death among the employed population, and it is estimated that five hundred thousand new jobs must somehow or other be provided annually.

(3)

With these facts in mind, let us see how the problem of employing the increasing working population has been solved during the past ten years or so.

The census returns of 1920 and 1930 contain the statistics of occupied persons, classified according to nine occupation groups, and give some information on changes in employment during that period. They show that the total number of the occupied persons grew from 27,261,000 in 1920 to 28,935,000 in 1930, an increase of 1,674,000, or 6.1 per cent. The increase among males was 1,836,000, but the females in employment actually decreased by 162,000.

The growth of employment, however, did not keep pace with that of the total population, which increased by 8,104,000 or 14.5 per cent during the same period, males representing

4,251,000, and females 3,853,000. This seems to show that the conditions of employment in Japan became more difficult over the period. If the proportion of the persons engaged to the total population had remained unchanged 1920 and 1930, the occupied population would have been 31,306,000 in 1930, instead of 28,935,000—a difference of 2,372,000.

This means that the number of those who did not become employed increased by more than two million during these ten years. The figure also may be regarded as a partial guide to the volume of unemployment existing in 1930, if we use the term "unemployment" somewhat widely.

It must be noted, however, that these statistics include not only adult or working population, but also children of fourteen years and under, as well as adults of sixty years and

over. We must also take into consideration that there is much difference from an economic point of view, between full-grown workers who must support their own families and those, such as wives who help their husbands on farms, or girls who work in the factory to obtain some savings for marriage, though both classes are treated in statistics as occupied persons. It will be seen in Table 4, that while occupied persons of fourteen and under decreased by 26.4 per cent and those of sixty years and over by 9.1 per cent, the total of those of working age increased by 9.5 per cent, men increasing 14.3 and women 1.0 per cent. Also in the estimate of "unemployment" shown in Table 5, we find that among the total number of 2,372,000, children and those over fifty-nine together number 824,000; women of working age total 1,042,000; and only 506,000 are men of working age.

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That children, the older workers, and women should retire and leave their posts to full-aged men was in itself a good tendency and was partially due to the enactment of a law prescribing the minimum age for employment in manufacturing industries and to amendments in the mining laws. The rationalization of industries also had the effect of strengthening this tendency, by making it disadvantageous to employ the less efficient labour of old persons, children, or women. An equally important influence seems that of the growth of education. Children at the higher grade primary schools, which are not compulsory and which take boys and girls up to thirteen and fourteen years, increased by 422,000 or 46.6 per cent, while those at the secondary schools, including middle schools, girls' high schools, and commercial or technical schools, all of which educate boys and girls of from twelve to sixteen years, increased by

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561,000, or 116.6 per cent. We may say, therefore, that from this point of view the state of Japanese labour has improved, as boys and girls have been prevented from entering factories and workshops and put into schools.

Nevertheless, it still holds true that the increase of employment did not keep pace with that of population, and a balance between the two would have necessitated an increase in the numbers of men employed, sufficient to cover the decrease in the groups of women, children, and the older workers, and consequently would have far exceeded the rate of increase in the total adult male population. But in reality the former was only 14.3 per cent while the latter reached 17.8 per cent.

Moreover, there is another important point to be observed. The above statistics include all those who have occupation or employment, whatever its nature, regardless of

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whether they receive an adequate income, whereas in reality large fluctuations in income are possible even for those who continue in the same occupation. Among wage earning labourers, the change in their condition of living may be reflected fairly well in the employment statistics, because, in a depression, unemployment usually goes hand in hand with a fall of wages, but among farmers, small manufacturers, and tradesmen who form more than half of our occupied population, business stagnation takes the form of a diminution in income rather than of unemployment. It is these farmers, small manufacturers, and tradesmen, who are now in adverse circumstances, rather than manual labourers. The pressure of population, especially in the agricultural villages, is really far more intense on account of this diminution of income, than we should imagine from the employment statistics alone. Indeed, it would be mean-

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ingless to discuss the problem of "social dumping" without taking this point into consideration.

(4)

Let us next examine the movement of employment in different occupational groups. As we have seen, the number of occupied persons increased by 1,673,000 during 1920 to 1930. This increase was not uniform in all occupation groups, and some groups even showed a decrease, whereas, in others, the rate of increase exceeded that of the total population. By examining these shifts in occupation, we can, to a certain extent, bring to light the facts concerning "social dumping," as they partially reflect the characteristic features of the economic structure of this country.

The census returns classify the occupied persons into nine general groups, *e.g.*, agriculture, manufacturing industries, trade, etc., and these are then subdivided.

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Of the general groups, agriculture contains nearly half of the total occupied population, for Japan is still predominantly an agricultural country. But the farming population of Japan has become quite stationary since the close of the world war, and while the numbers engaged in agriculture totalled 14,128,000 in 1920, they amounted to only 14,129,000 in 1930. Further, their proportion to the total occupied population declined from 50 per cent in 1920 to 48.9 per cent in 1930, while the proportion to the total population of the members of households, the heads of which were engaged in agriculture, or in other words, the proportion of the total population directly sustained by agriculture, declined from 50 per cent in 1920 to 45 per cent in 1930. The relative position of agriculture in Japan's national economy is thus steadily falling, and Japan is being rapidly industrialized.

This tendency towards urbanization is also perceptible in the movement of population among different prefectures. While the total population, including 46 prefectures and Hokkaido, increased by 8,487,000 during the ten years, the increase of population in the seven most urbanized prefectures of Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto, Kanagawa, Hyogo, Aichi and Fukuoka, was 4,376,000, or 51.1 per cent of the total increase. The estimated increase of population in the cities during the last ten years occupied 62.6 per cent of the increase of the total population.

Such a marked growth of population in the urban districts is, of course, not due to the natural increase, *i.e.*, the difference between births and deaths. Birth rates are much higher in rural districts than in cities, and the natural increase of rural population far surpasses that of urban population. The

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urbanization comes from the circumstances that those born in rural districts flow into cities. This is clearly seen in the fifteen-to nineteen-year age group of rural and urban population, which shows a sharp contraction for the rural population and an expansion for the urban. A considerable part of those born and brought up in rural districts go to cities for employment after they have finished primary school at twelve years of age, or military service at twenty-three, and rural districts thus form a reservoir of adult workers for urban industrial districts.

This large migration from the country to cities and the consequent stationariness of the farming population show that the population has already reached a saturation point in rural districts. Japan's agricultural districts are now unable to give satisfactory employment to their growing adult population and the younger

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generation seeks employment in cities or towns. This is an important fact which characterizes the post-war economic development of Japan. Until the close of the World War, Japan's rural population could increase, though insignificantly, through the improvement of rice cultivation, together with the development of sericulture; and there was some advance in the standard of life of the farmers. After the war, however, both these branches of agriculture encountered new difficulties. The cost of rice production rose as cultivation became more and more intensive and the competition of cheap rice from Korea and Formosa, where cultivations had been greatly improved and extended in the post-war years, became more marked. Also the recent development of rayon and the depression in the United States of America, checked the extension of the market for silk and forced down the price of cocoons. The

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stagnation of population as well as the very low standards of life prevailing in rural districts during the post-war years are simply evidence of these difficulties in the main branches of Japan's agriculture.

To relieve this situation, however, is not easy, either in rice production or sericulture. Although the Japanese Empire as a whole does not import much foodstuffs, if we consider only Japan proper, the home supply of food is very insufficient for home consumption. This is particularly so with rice, the production of which falls short of consumption even in abundant years. In fact, further supply of rice for Japan proper has been the aim of the policy of encouragement to rice culture in Korea and Formosa during the post-war years. Japan cannot, therefore, prevent the import of rice on the ground that her own growers are in difficulties. As a

temporary measure Japan may restrict or establish a quota on imports, but sooner or later she will be forced to remove such a restriction. She can find an ultimate solution only by reducing the unremunerative production of rice in Japan proper, and increasing the import of the Korean and Formosan rice. But such a solution may involve a reduction in the agricultural population at home, and this would raise many difficult questions.

The position of sericulture seems no better. In the first post-war decade, artificial silk was still in its infancy, but its technique has been improving every year, and during the last five years everybody became conscious of its competitive influence upon Japan's raw silk industry. Japan probably cannot expect, therefore, any immediate further development in this second important branch of agriculture. As rice growing and sericulture, the two main

branches of agriculture, are thus in difficulties, we may even say that, for the moment at any rate, the population of her rural districts has not only reached a saturation point, but that a state of actual over-population exists. The Government is of course eager to bring revival in rural communities, and some of its measures will bear fruit, but it seems that its efforts can, at best, only maintain the rural population at its present level.

Further, if we compare the age composition of the persons engaged in agriculture in 1920 and in 1930, we shall notice a decrease in all age groups up to forty-four years, and an increase in all groups over forty-four years, particularly in the fifty to fifty-four groups.

This is quite the opposite of the position in the groups engaged in manufacturing industries, trade, and public and professional

services. The decrease of persons of forty-four years of age and under, engaged in agriculture, shows that many of those who, in former times, would have stayed at home and been engaged in farming, have now come to seek employment in urban occupations; whereas the increase of persons of over forty-four years in the agricultural occupations seems to show that some of those who had gone to the cities and been engaged in urban occupations have now returned to agriculture. As a whole, those engaged in agriculture neither increased nor decreased, but a shift has taken place between the young and the old in this industry. Those who have ability to work go to cities and rural communities are more and more left with only those who have few possibilities of finding work in urban occupations. The retrogression of the position of agriculture in Japan's national economy is clearly reflected in this point.

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One may be led to think that this relative retrogression of agriculture is due to an increase in Japan's *industrial* population, but such is not exactly the case in reality. The statistics of employment for manufacturing industries actually show a decrease. The figure for 1920 is 5,817,000, and that of 1930, 5,184,000, a fall of 133,000.

However, this was solely due to a decrease of 591,000 in the number of females employed, while there was an increase of 458,000 in the number of males. Further, this net increase of males was the result of an increase of 659,000 adult workers attached to industry, accompanied by a decrease of 57,000 children and 44,000 elderly workers and 100,000 who were unemployed. The age of these unemployed is not yet reported, but most of them presumably were of working age. In manufacturing industries, therefore, there was

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an increase of 559,000 among men of working age, and a decrease of 692,000 among women, children, and elderly workers. This is on the whole a replacement of the less efficient by the more efficient, and represents an advance in the condition of industrial labour in Japan. As we have seen above, its principal cause can be sought in the rationalization of work, social legislation, and the spread of education.

The decrease in those engaged in manufacturing industries, therefore, meant neither a decrease in the quantity of labour power employed in, nor a decrease in the income derived from, such industries. In the population belonging to households, the heads of which were engaged in manufacturing industries, we find an increase of 1,517,000, from 9,502,000 in 1920, to 11,019,000 in 1930. The proportion to the total population also increased from 17.8 per cent to 18.2 per cent.

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However, this relative increase of industrial population was much smaller than the relative expansion of industrial production during this period. The quantity of labour power employed in manufacturing industries increased only 8.43 per cent whereas the quantity of production grew by 67.53 per cent.

As it is impossible to calculate accurately the physical quantity indices of production, and as the weights adopted for labour power are of a very arbitrary nature, it is doubtful whether the published figures are reliable, especially for agriculture and fishing. But for manufacturing industries, the result of the calculation seems to be in keeping with the facts. For Japan's industrial development during the post-war decade, though it attained a great increase of productive power, was really not large enough to absorb satisfactorily new working population.

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Although the development was chiefly the result of the mechanization of processes, and rationalization of work, which did not require a proportionately large number of workers, the manufacturing industries would have been able to absorb a larger number of workers, if there had been a sufficiently expanding market for their products. But the growth of markets both in Japan and abroad, has been greatly restricted as the result of various obstacles. The recent extension of Japan's foreign trade, which while due partly to the fall of the yen, is also a result of the increase of efficiency attained in this period, is thus very important, and can be regarded as a factor which may furnish some extra employment to the country's population, if its natural expansion is allowed.

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With Japan's agricultural population stationary, and the numbers engaged in manufac-

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turing industries decreasing, how was the extra labour absorbed during this period? It is clear that the mining, transport, and fishing industries did not provide an outlet. The numbers engaged in mining showed a decrease of 194,000, although their total does not exceed a few hundred thousand, and the other two groups increased, but only slightly. The decrease in the mining industries, as in the case of manufacturing, was most conspicuous among women, children, and the older workers, but the total number of adult male workers decreased about 40 per cent. As there was, at the same time, an increase in the quantity of total output, the mining industries offer a distinct example of so-called technical unemployment.

In contrast to these industries, the increase in the three remaining groups of occupations, trade, public and professional

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service, and domestic service, was very remarkable, and absorbed the greater part of the population increase. Thus, while the total population increased by 14 per cent, the increase of the persons engaged in trade reached 39 per cent (1,317,000), and that of the persons in public and professional service, 37 per cent (541,000). The increase in domestic servants was not so great, but amounted to 21 per cent (140,000). These three groups together showed an increase of almost two millions, far exceeding the increase in the total number of persons engaged.

It must be noted here that the meaning of the term "trade" as used in Japan's census is very wide. In addition to wholesale and retail trading, it includes banking and insurance, theatres and cinemas, hotels, restaurants, bath-houses and barbers' shops. The total number engaged in this group in 1930

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was 4,435,000, of which those engaged in wholesale and retail trade occupied 70 per cent (3,260,000), and those in personal services 26 per cent (1,140,000). The number of the members of households, the heads of which were engaged in "trade," was 2,094,000, which almost equalled that of the members of industrial households. Its proportion to the total population rose from 13.4 per cent in 1920 to 17.4 per cent in 1930. Professor Charles Gide, a veteran French economist, pointing out the enormous increase of those engaged in trade in France, once said that if the rate of increase were to continue, all Frenchmen would become tradesmen in two centuries ("Principles d'Economie Politique"). A similar situation exists in Japan today.

Further, while all ages and sexes in this group showed an increase, the growth among

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the age groups of fifteen to twenty-nine years was most conspicuous. This is just the opposite of what we saw in the case of agriculture, and shows that very many young people who moved from rural villages to towns entered trade as salesmen and saleswomen, waitresses, and other servants in hotels, restaurants and the like, employees in theatres and cinemas, etc.

No one reason can be given for the marked increase in this group as compared with other groups. An increase in the proportion which the trading population bears to the total population, has been a common phenomenon throughout the world in recent years, and seems to come from the fact that rationalization is not practicable in trade to the same degree as in manufacturing industries, mining, or transportation; and so extra workers are needed there in proportion to the increase in

production. But the increase of that proportion in Japan is so great, that it cannot be attributed to this circumstance only. Perhaps the principal cause lies rather in the fact that, as rural life has seemed relatively impoverished, young people have deserted it and gone to cities and towns, where they have found employment in the first kind of occupation obtainable there. Besides, there are in this time of economic depression a large number of middled-aged persons, dismissed from positions in other occupations, who are trying to earn their livelihood with their small capital. In fact, the persons engaged in trade may have increased, not because trade was more profitable than other industries, but because it did not require much capital or skill and men could comparatively easily set themselves up in this occupation. In many trades today, competition in Japan is rather more severe than in other urban occupations, particularly among

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shopkeepers and employees, whose economic circumstances are next to those of agriculture in severity.

It seems fairly clear from the foregoing analysis, that the development of employment during the ten years between 1920 and 1930 was not enough to absorb the increased population, and the employment problem has not been sufficiently solved. There was a huge decline in the employment of women, children, and older workers, and there was insufficient employment for men workers, whose numbers were increasing rapidly. In rural districts population became stationary, but the depression in agriculture perhaps warranted an actual decrease. In urban industries, production was greatly increased, but the development was not enough to receive the increasing number of emigrants from the country. Trade, public and professional service, and

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domestic services could absorb the greater part of the increased population flowing into towns, but this meant neither a prosperous state of business, nor a rise in the standard of living, but rather an increase of competition and impoverishment. There is no doubt, therefore, that the pressure of population was greatly intensified during the post-war decade in this country. The low level of wages, much criticized recently, is obviously an unavoidable outcome of this circumstance.

In what direction, then, can Japan find a solution to the problem? The answer to this question can be found from the foregoing analysis. As agricultural development has for the time being reached its limit, and as the two main branches of the Japanese farming are now faced with great difficulties, the increasing population must find employment in manufacturing industries. But manufac-

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turing industries cannot hope to find a quickly expanding market in the country, where the farming population is in distress. The industrialization of Japan must largely depend upon the development of trade with other countries of the world. If foreign markets are to be closed against Japanese goods, the movement of population from the country to the towns will make wages sink still lower. But it will be a great mistake for foreign countries, in their fear of the cheap labour of Japan, to restrict Japanese exports. They must also take notice of the fact that trade cannot be one-sided, and that if Japan is allowed to send her manufactures abroad and her people improve their living conditions, this, with the rapid increase in population, will mean a tremendous extension of the Japanese market for foreign products. A densely

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populated country with a rising standard of life cannot fail to become an important buyer of those raw materials and manufactures which she is unable to produce with advantage. Against this it may be said that Japan is protesting against the restrictive trade measures of other countries, while she herself has built up many kinds of barriers to trade. This is, of course, true, and the Japanese have organized themselves into an association for liberty of trading, because they believe that a greater part of the protection given to her industries is not profitable to the nation as a whole. But it should be clear to intelligent minds that obstructions to Japanese trade will not solve this problem. It should also be clear that, from a long run point of view, Japan cannot expand her exports without buying more from abroad, and that these increased purchases will be beneficial to Japan whose natural conditions make it impossible

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for her to be economically self-sufficient. Under more settled conditions of the world economy, Japan is bound to become one of the best markets for exports from all quarters of the world.

THE END
